The Nation.

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The Week.

CONGRESS adjourned on the 4th without passing the Force Bill, and the Tax Bill just escaped defeat. The appropriation bills all got through, as did the Mississippi Jetty Bill, and the bill to admit Colorado. New Mexico is still a Territory. The end of the session was not marked by the usual turbulence, though there was a good deal of confusion, and the proceedings in the House terminated in a very dignified and manly speech delivered by Mr. Blaine, on his retiring from the Speaker's chair. Mr. Blaine has undoubtedly "come out very strong" from the session, and for his ability displayed in managing the House during the filibustering of the Democrats, as well as his integrity and skill, has won a great deal of praise from his own party, from the Democrats, and from the press. His rise to a position of prominence among the leading men of his party is a gratifying sign, for he has obtained his honors not by unscrupulous partisanship, but by hard work in a difficult office, and has increased his popularity not by buncombe speeches, or the low arts of a demagogue, but by the exhibition of those qualities of firmness, good sense, and respect for the rights of others which ought to make a man popular. He has his faults, no doubt, but, compared with Morton, Logan, and the present leaders of the Republicans, he seems like an ancient Roman for virtue. In the next House he will be the leader of the Opposition, and it must be a source of consolation to every one who takes any pride in his country to reflect on the change this will effect. On the adjournment of Congress the new Senate convened in executive session, and Mr. Morton has been trying to get it to recognize Pinchback again. Besides this, the Hawaiian Treaty will demand action.

Mr. Henry Wilson, who has always been a good friend to the soldier in Congress, has tried at various times since the war ended to remedy the injustice done him in the payment of bounties. The injustice was that the three-years men, who enlisted early in the war and saw most of the hardest service, were promised bounties of $100, which were paid in depreciated paper, and therefore received less for more work than those who succeeded them, and who received $300, besides large local bounties. Ever since the end of the war he has been endeavoring to get this injustice remedied by equalizing bounties. Nearly ten years ago, he and other friends of the soldier got a bill passed, under which it is said that some $60,000,000 have been paid out of the Treasury, and which the soldiers generally thought a final measure. This, however, Mr. Wilson never thought enough, and he therefore was very glad to vote for the Equalization Bill of the late Congress, which proposed to remedy the injustice a little more, not exactly by taking $100,000,000 out of the Treasury, for that sum is not there to be taken, but by increasing the debt by that amount—if that was the amount (since no one seems to know exactly how much the bill appropriated)—and to affix his signature to it as President of the Senate. The condition of the bill when he signed it was this: The House had passed the bill, and the Senate had amended it, and the House had voted to non-concur; a conference committee then unanimously agreed to recommend to the two Houses that the House recede from its non-concurrence and agree to the Senate amendments, which the House did; on which, without further action on the part of the Senate, Mr. Wilson signed the bill. The President at once vetoed it, so that the measure is dead. There yet remain, however, two questions with regard to it which do not seem absolutely settled.

The first of these is whether the bill, in the condition we have described, was actually passed, or whether the Senate should have done something more with it. As to this, the Clerk of the House and the Journal Clerk of the House both declare that, in their opinion, the bill was passed, the receding of the House from its non-concurrence placing the two bodies in perfect accord. This seems to relieve Mr. Wilson from all blame as to signing the bill, but it throws no light whatever on the merits of the equalization policy, of which he and Senator Logan are the great expounders. The fatal defect in the scheme for equalizing bounties is that it is an attempt to remedy injustice done by the Government for the benefit of a particular class, though the injustice affected everybody in the country. The soldier who, having been promised $100, received it in depreciated money, was certainly unjustly treated, but so was everybody else who was made, by the Legal-Tender Act, to receive payment of debts in depreciated paper. There are other meritorious classes besides soldiers who have done the Government great benefits both during and since the war, who were paid, not bounties, but their salaries, in depreciated paper. Why should not the pay of all the civil servants of the Government who received their salaries in paper when gold was at 250, be equalized with those who receive the same salaries now with gold at 115? Such men as Mr. Seward and Mr. Adams did the country as much service, at least, as many of the patriots who enlisted in the ranks, yet we have never heard of any movement to have their salaries equalized. Besides this, we may go on equalizing for ever as long as the legal-tender power is kept alive; for if we equalize on the basis of gold at 115 to-day, we may have, before half the money is paid out, to begin all over again with gold at 125, and again at 150. The main object of these bounty bills, of which some half-dozen have been introduced into Congress since the close of the war, has of course been to secure the soldiers' votes, and they account in some degree for the disappearance of that well-known old plank from the party platforms, vowing that the pensions of the soldiers and sailors shall be paid.

Mr. Young Brown's case came up before the adjournment, owing to his desire to get the resolution of censure expunged from the records; but he was unsuccessful. Mr. Dawes said he had looked into the matter carefully, and could see nothing to palliate it. Brown's conduct was utterly black and forbidding. Now, Mr. Dawes must not be so stern a moralist. He must have some bowels of compassion for sinners. It is not every man that can live on his moral plane, or on his friend Butler's. Why can't he avert his face and go to Pittsfield on private business when a Brown equivocates or uses bad language? We can tell him this ferocious virtue does more harm than good, because it makes poor fellows who are trying to reform feel hopeless, and drives them back desperate into vice. How would he feel if Brown should take to drink? We believe the truth of the affair is that poor Brown, who is rather a young man, has been studying Burke and Junius, and is very anxious to distinguish himself as an orator; and his invective against Butler was carefully prepared, as he believed, on the best models, and was committed to memory, and he was letting it off anxiously when the Speaker interrupted him; and the "equivocation" which horrified Dawes and roused the moral indignation of the House was simply the result of great mental disturbance on the part of an inexperienced orator. Probably nobody was more astonished than he was himself at its effect, and at seeing Dawes preparing to form a "hollow square" in front of the chair in defence of liberty of speech. As it was, we are informed on good authority, in the confusion Mr. Brown forgot one of his finest passages, which he feels keenly, and which is surely punishment enough in these humane days.

Judge Poland is one of two or three men who left the House at the close of the session with the honors of war—drums beating and colors flying. His triumph in the Arkansas matter was a most gratifying

close to his present term of service, because it was not only complete, but to most people unexpected, as the President lobbied against the adoption of the report of the majority, and as the success of the Desperadoes with the Force Bill seemed to indicate that they could carry anything they pleased. The Judge's course was all the more creditable because he was defeated at the late election. He, however, did not allow this to sour or depress him, but went at his work with renewed energy; had a little colloquy with Butler, in which he truthfully informed that "statesman" that he was a "liar"; pushed his report vigorously when the time came; routed the Carpet-baggers, after a telling speech, the delivery of which is said to have been a very picturesque incident, and which the Arkansas Legislature talk of commemorating by having the old gentleman's portrait painted, to hang in their hall, as he stood in his blue coat and brass buttons, shaking his long finger at the conspirators, and warning them of the wrath to come. Governor Garland has issued a proclamation appointing a day of thanksgiving for the deliverance of the State, and well he may, for seldom has a State escaped a greater danger than that of the seizure of its government by a band of thieves, backed up by the United States.

It seems to be admitted on all hands that there are at last unmistakable signs of a revival in business. Even the financial writer in the *Tribune* admits it now unreservedly. But we must point out to him that he described a state of things in the business world last Christmas from which no community could possibly recover in two months, or even get on the fair way to recovery. We are, therefore, driven to the conclusion either that he was mistaken then, or that he is mistaken now; we think the former. We called his attention several times during the winter to the probability that he was indulging in a gloom and despondency for which there was no real foundation in observed facts, and that he was doing much mischief by his wailings, because whatever the state of business, speculation being utterly dead, the evils of the situation were sure to be aggravated by whatever delayed the restoration of confidence. His position is a very important one, and we think whoever fills it ought to have a stronger sense of his responsibilities than the present incumbent seems to possess. If, however, he will now keep up his spirits and desist from crying down honest attempts to set the wheels of industry and enterprise once more in motion, we will look no more into his sad past. Prices are rising with tolerable steadiness on the Stock Exchange; the dry-goods dealers say their spring prospects are good; and there are signs that the prices of produce have reached the lowest point. According to all past experience of the effect of panics, recovery ought to begin now, as we are not far from the beginning of the third year since the last one. No commercial community can go on longer than this working on "short time," and we have no doubt that we should not have gone on so long were it not for the state of the currency and the power of Congress over it—an element of uncertainty which has never had to be encountered in any previous panic in this country. This is now removed, for a long period at least, by the adjournment of Congress, and by the fact that the state of parties in the next Congress will probably prevent all financial legislation. There could hardly be a more striking proof of the separation between the political class and the rest of the community than the fact that honest traders curtail their business when the national legislature is sitting, just as if its members were Mahrattas or Comanches who might any day make a swoop on people's goods.

Secretary Bristow has not allowed the public to remain very long in doubt as to the use he intends to make of the money he expects to get from the Tax Bill; for he has issued a call for $30,000,000 of registered bonds to be redeemed on account of the Sinking Fund, or rather—for there is no such fund—to be destroyed in reduction of the national debt. He has chosen registered bonds out of their numbered order, because these bonds are mostly held in the country, and the gold paid for them will therefore, it is supposed, stay in the country, and not, as would probably be the case if he called for others, go to Europe. The question whether he is right in making this selection, and whether he will attain his end in making it, is therefore at present the principal topic of speculation on "the Street." People using gold in their daily transactions and speculations who are "short" of it, applaud his action, and look for an easy spring and summer in the money market in consequence of the disbursement of so large an amount of gold, while large holders of the bonds as investors are grumbling over his calling them out of their order. Others again doubt whether the bonds will not be paid for when the time comes in the new five per cents. The general result, however, seems to be increased confidence in business circles. Two things seem certain, and they are things of vast importance—first, Mr. Bristow is evidently a man who will obey the law, and not wilfully violate it out of his own head; and, secondly, he believes in specie payments, or, in other words, sees the overwhelming importance of the currency question. He is accumulating gold heavily, and has now about $50,000,000; but if it goes out in this way for the redemption of bonds, of course this accumulation has no bearing on resumption. The volume of legal-tenders has been reduced during the week by $1,385,000, being eighty per cent. of the new bank-bills issued under the currency act of the first session of the late Congress.

The *Evening Post* was not satisfied with our view of the conditions of municipal reform a week or two ago, and says it has a "practicable theory which is very different from the *Nation's*, but which would promote the end that journal has in view," viz., "Let the property-owners, the substantial classes of society, interest themselves actively and constantly in municipal affairs, and the evils incident to the rule of municipal corporations by majorities will speedily disappear." Now, there are people who will receive this "practicable theory" with unseemly merriment; but we shall not treat it lightly. We only say that, if the *Evening Post* has known of this plan for some time, and has not revealed it, it has been guilty of a great wrong against the people of this city. If, on the other hand, it has revealed it, and "the property-owners and substantial classes" have paid no attention to the plan, what is the value of it? The painful truth is that our venerable contemporary has been sleeping over municipal affairs, and is apparently not aware that this "theory" it produces is about thirty years old, and that its worthlessness, after many trials, is really at this moment one of the symptoms of the municipal disease. No "property owner or substantial man" can give active and constant attention to municipal affairs under the rule of the majority without neglecting all his other business, and sooner than do this he will submit to heavy taxation or move away; and this is what he is now doing in New York, because, as he justly remarks, the object of municipal government is not to take all his time in attending to it, but to leave him his time for the conduct of his business. A municipal government which fully occupied the men of property and affairs, would hardly be any better than a government which compelled every citizen to protect his life and property at his own expense and with his own hand. The old catchword about "rich men attending to their political duties" is now so stale and foolish, that it ought not to be seriously produced in the discussion of city affairs any longer.

It will be remembered that in November, 1873, we gave a summary of a pamphlet purporting to contain a history of the Emma-Mine fraud by Mr. S. T. Paffard, of London, one of the stockholders. This, as might be imagined, was very disagreeable to Mr. Trenor W. Park and his confederates, and Park thereupon wrote or caused to be written some letters to one of his Vermont organs, giving that pleasing version of the affair to which he has since more than once treated the public, and speaking of Mr. Paffard in very insulting terms as "that man Paffard—a person of no character." The English *Mining Journal* was so very imprudent as to copy these letters,

and was thereupon promptly sued in the Court of Exchequer by Mr. Paffard, and the case came on for trial on the 17th ult. before the Lord Chief-Baron. The defendant offered a complete and full retraction and apology, and paid $500 into court as a "solatium," which Mr. Paffard accepted as full satisfaction. This will be a warning to English papers against copying Park's statements, and we trust will be a warning to the Vermont organs against allowing him or his friends to use their columns in defence of his mining ventures.

A question of parliamentary law of some interest has been raised in England by Mitchel's case, owing to the doubt in which even the lawyers find themselves whether his sentence had really been carried out by the lapse of the time for which he was banished and by his absence from the kingdom during the whole period. If not, why was he not subjected to all the other incidental disabilities of the position as well as unfitness to serve in Parliament? The discussion in the House of Commons was by no means satisfactory on these points, as was shown by the fact that over one hundred members voted against Mr. Disraeli's motion for the issue of a new writ, although most of them at least were opposed on general grounds to Mitchel's admission. As matters stand, however, the chances are that the House will be brought into very disagreeable collision with the courts of law, and in contests of this sort it is apt to get the worst of it; for, if Mitchel is again put up, somebody will probably oppose him, be beaten, and petition against his return, and then, on the trial of the petition before the Irish Court of Common Pleas, the question of qualification will come up, and the decision of the House of Commons be very possibly overruled.

Dr. Kenealy has published in his paper, the *Englishman*, an account of himself, and of the work cut out for him in the House of Commons, which is inexpressibly ludicrous, and makes it difficult to avoid the conclusion that his mind is unsound. He represents himself as by far the ablest lawyer and finest gentleman at the English bar, and on the eve of extraordinary professional success when his enemies, owing to his enlistment in the Tichborne case, having tried to kill him with presents of poisoned game, determined to get him disbarred. But this which seemed likely to prove his ruin was simply the means, under God, of causing him to found "The Magna Charta Association" and putting him in Parliament, where "he is going to destroy the Whig and Tory conspiracy against the people"; and being "a mighty army in himself, will carry all before him in Parliament, like Mirabeau in France and Chatham in England." As he "tamed the three judges in Westminster Hall, and kept them down like three cats that hardly dared to mew in his presence, so he will master the Right Honorable Humbugs who delude the people and pass the wicked laws under which they groan."

Garibaldi's appearance in Rome as a Deputy has been the occasion of many surprises. In his journey thither he caused dismay among the Radicals by giving them the cold shoulder when they sought to take him under their wing, and his public addresses since his arrival have been characterized by a studious moderation. He has urged the workingmen to bring up their children to the craft of the father, and both by his words and by his example has encouraged their turning their attention away from the distraction of politics and towards the cultivation of habits of industry and thrift. His own special work is to combat the third greatest enemy (after the Papacy and the foreigner) of the Agro Romano, and he is engrossed night and day with plans for diverting the Tiber from its present bed, preventing inundations, and contriving the drainage of the Campagna, in connection with the building up of a new commercial port at the mouth of the river. To this end he has been in active conference with Count Alexander Torlonia, famous for his successful enterprises in reclaiming marshy districts, with Sella and the Government engineers, and even with Victor Emanuel himself, with whom he had an interview marked by manifestations of mutual respect. He has elsewhere spoken quite loyally of the King—another wonderment for the Radicals, who had, it must be admitted, reason to expect something different on account of the ungracious tone of his letter declining the national bounty which had been voted him. Moreover, he allows that the Papacy has had its uses, though it has in his opinion outlived them. Perhaps, if the truth were known, official relations apart, there would be found to exist a perfect tolerance between the King, Pius IX., and the red-shirted Deputy, in all of whom the Italian sentiment is so strong. The Pope, indeed, not the least Italian of the three, is said to have waggishly remarked, apropos of Garibaldi's arrival, "We were two, and now we are three."

Marshal MacMahon almost succeeded on Monday in forming a ministry strong politically on every side except the Radical, and, in the matter of ability, strong on every side. M. Buffet, the Vice-President of the Council, has long presided with marked ability in the Assembly; the Duc Decazes has made an excellent reputation already in the management of foreign affairs at a very trying time; and M. Léon Say, the Minister of Finance, is known all over the world as an economist of uncommon power and attainments. General de Cissey, too, could hardly be improved upon for the War Department; and the Marquis de Montaignac, of the Navy, is perhaps as good a model for either soldier or sailor as can be found in France. Mr. Buffet's refusal, at the last moment, defeated this most promising combination. There is no denying that the complexion of the proposed cabinet was strongly Orleanist; and it will strengthen the growing suspicion that the first president of the impending republic will be the Duc d'Aumale, who will again be regarded as a stop-gap, inasmuch as the Royalists will think him too much of a prince to be regarded as simply an executive officer, and the Republicans will look on him as too much of a president to be altogether a representative of royalty; and so the definitive settlement of the question of the form of the government would seem under him still further postponed. The Bonapartists, however, still get the worst of it, though they procure a good deal of comfort from small incidents. For instance, Paul de Cassagnac, in his *Pays*, abused savagely General Wimpffen, who commanded at the surrender of Sedan, and, in accordance with the Bonapartist programme, threw on him all the blame of the disaster. Wimpffen sued him, and there was a great trial; but the jury found for the defendant on every point. The Bonapartists consider this a sign of popular disposition to rehabilitate the Emperor's memory, and it will serve pretty well for that purpose; but it is more probably the result of the French delight in finding a scapegoat which was largely instrumental in leading to Bazaine's conviction. They are also cheered by the completion of the Prince Imperial's course of study at the Woolwich Military School, where he has graduated seventh in a class of forty, and stands first in fencing and horsemanship.

The conflict between church and state in Prussia is assuming a character of increasing bitterness. A bill is before the Prussian Parliament, providing for lay administration of the property of Catholic parishes, and the Minister of Public Worship was savage enough, in his speech supporting the bill, to say that the necessity for it was proved by the fact that the State Administrator, who has taken possession of the property of the Bishopric of Gnesen, has discovered a series of embezzlements, extending over a year, of which several clergymen were cognizant, and in answer to a challenge from the Ultramontane side, he named them. This incident, however it ends, will perhaps call attention to the fact that enormous amounts of property are handled all over the world by the Catholic clergy, to all intents and purposes secretly and without lay auditing or interference, and this under a code of morals which makes an exposure of anything likely to bring discredit on the church what is technically called a "scandal," and therefore a grievous offence. We make no insinuation against the honesty of this clerical administration when we say that the strain it imposes on human nature is enormous, and would be unendurable were it not for the celibacy of the clergy and the enforced asceticism of their lives.

THE FORTY-THIRD CONGRESS.

WITH the close of the Forty-third Congress the history of the United States will pass out of the region of the civil war. For the next two years the legislative power will be so divided that new statutes cannot be enacted and existing laws cannot be repealed. The Lower House may indeed thrust upon the Government some aggressive embarrassments, such as refusing appropriations; but the new majority there will come into power with a peculiar, and perhaps unprecedented, sense of responsibility that seems likely to dictate to party management prudence, fairness, and the absence of all irritating party warfare. So far as appearances will warrant prediction, it may be expected confidently that a calm will settle upon the political field, such as the country has not known for thirty years, in which there will be neither changes nor attempts to change existing laws. During this lull we may hope, if not conclude, that the agitated affairs of the South will settle into an abiding, because natural, equilibrium. The Forty-third Congress has been the chief disturbing element of the last two years, and even its inaction has been singularly a cause of active disturbance. In the next two years neither side will have anything to expect from Congress, and Congress will be practically unable to further the schemes of either set of extremists. The political work of the last three Congresses has been little more than a struggle to keep the intelligence and capital of the South from acquiring their natural ascendancy over irresponsible ignorance. With the last Congress the business of national legislation for State political effect has come to an end.

The Forty-third Congress also marks the terminal point in the course of the Republican party. A party may, indeed, come into power at the next Presidential election, retaining the same name, and made up largely of the same material; but nothing short of the extremest folly and wickedness on the part of the Southern people can revive the Republican party as we have all known it. Whatever may be its name, its policy and its leaders will pass away, to be classed respectively with things that are no longer needed, and with men that are no longer trusted. In the meanwhile, the President and Republican majority of the Senate will continue in nominal power; but not to direct the course of the party, nor to continue its policy. They will be mere place-holders, awaiting an impending change; remaining in office, necessarily and properly, after an extraordinary vote of want of confidence, but without power to do more than carry on the most narrow administration of government, under the surveillance of their political opponents in the Lower House. The political dynasty which really began with the election of Speaker Banks has really ended with the exaugural of Speaker Blaine. The contrast between the party in Congress in 1857 and in 1875 is a demonstration of its success and its decline—in the former Congress, a minority, but united and determined, with definite objects and an unmistakable policy before it, represented by the ablest and purest men that constituencies could possibly select, and having behind it the immense moral power of a people who thoroughly approved its action as being really devoted to the welfare of the country. In the last Congress, a large majority, yet weak and vacillating, divided upon every question of public policy, conscious that the political condition of the country depended upon their action, yet not knowing what to do nor where to go, led by a few men whose private characters were tarnished and whose public lives were simply those of unscrupulous politicians, and, at the end, when the country had emphatically pronounced against them, recklessly pushing through the most objectionable measures as the last expedient of party management.

The rise and fall of the Republican party is also clearly attributable to the successive policies which have been pursued in Congress. In the first stage of its existence—its conflict with the slave-power—its policy was characterized by moderation and strict submission to constitutional obligations. Nothing could have been more reasonable than for a people, of whom a majority were opposed to slavery, to leave constitutional rights undisturbed, and limit themselves to restricting the evil to the parts in which it actually existed. In the second stage—the prosecution of the war—Congress acted, for the most part, with all the vigor and decision that any legislature ever evinced; and if its wisdom was often questionable, it still acted with as much discretion as could well be expected from untrained men in a situation which was always serious, and often appalling. To supply, and equip, and animate the army, to leave the administration to the care of the ablest men in the country, to adhere rigidly to the determination of putting down the rebellion, was as judicious a policy as any set of legislators could have adopted. So far, the Congressional policy deserved respect, and certainly the country sustained and confided in the party. But in the third stage of the party—the restoration of civil government and the settlement of the issues of the war—the policy of Congress has been a tissue of blunders, and as nearly as possible an absolute failure. It allowed an untried Executive to do as he pleased, where a lenient yet firm and decided course should have been established at the first, assuring the exhausted and submissive communities of the law and order which they were not then fitted to maintain, and of their ultimate restoration to civil rights. It next resorted, as a political expedient, to military government, after the war was really over, and invited dangers and evils which were averted by the good sense of such soldiers as Canby and Meade. It then entered into the worst phase of its statesmanship—that of bringing the lowest stratum of society, the absolutely ignorant and irresponsible, to the top, and making it the governing class, practically disfranchising all that there was of intelligence and ability, and dividing society into classes by race, with all the evils that must ever be inseparable from such a division. In 1861, the South had no rightful pretext for rebellion, but since the war it has been the policy of Congress to invade our fundamental principle of local self-government, and to permit the destruction of those civil rights on the maintenance of which civilization and constitutional liberty depend. For some time, the good sense of the country was misled by the specious plea of necessity, but at last, when the test of practical results came to be applied, it was seen clearly enough that where the General Government had governed most, there affairs were worst; that where the experiments of Federal interference and negro supremacy had been most thoroughly tried, there they had most signally failed; that where the unfortunate freedman had been most protected, there he was most persecuted; that the welfare of the colored race, like that of all other races, depends upon industry, intelligence, and the orderly condition of society, and not upon the ballot and the irresponsible power of voting ruin upon everybody in the community except ourselves.

The last House of Representatives has also been a complete illustration of the disintegration that has been going on in the political field. The House has repeatedly differed from the Senate, from the President, and from itself. Considered as a unit, its decisions are full of extraordinary inconsistencies. It delayed the Civil-Rights and the Force Bills until the country had pronounced against them, and then voted for them. It repealed the "salary grab" and restored the franking privilege. It exposed and condemned the worst delinquencies of the civil service and did away with what remained of civil-service reform. It voted one day that the Republicans had carried Louisiana in 1872 and that Kellogg was the duly elected governor, and the next that the Democrats had carried the State at the same election and that Sheridan was the rightfully chosen representative-at-large. It stood up with commendable firmness against Colonel Scott's railway grants and the internal-improvement schemes, yet twice voted a gratuity of probably $100,000,000 in the Bounty Bill. Fortunately for it, the country has been spared the evils of its worst blunders, for which we may thank the vetoes of the President, the timid tardiness of the House itself, and the resolute opposition of the minority.

But let it not be supposed that the last House deserved the almost unqualified condemnation that fell upon its immediate predecessors. On the contrary, there has been no House of Representatives in the last ten years so unsoiled by subsidies and jobs and

private acts and personal scandals. At the close of its first session, one of its sagacious members said in effect that it was made up largely of well-meaning men of very moderate abilities and little experience or culture. The action of the House has continued to justify this opinion. In matters which these men understand, like grants and subsidies, they have acted sensibly and honestly; in the more complicated problems of government, they have been out of their depths—one day striking out for the shore and the next drifting out to sea. When analyzed, the responsible majority appears to have been an unorganized throng, not dishonest or reckless, but possessed of neither legislative experience nor knowledge of statesmanship; nominally belonging to one party, but really divided upon every question of a public nature; now guided by the good sense of a few of the older members, and presently misled by the wiles and sophistries of Butler; anxious to achieve something for their party and for the country, and to participate in the growth which generally attends an intelligent deliberative body, yet dazed and rendered helpless by the most complicated and ill-regulated legislative machinery that the world possesses.

MITCHEL AND KENEALY.

THE election of John Mitchel in Tipperary, and of Dr. Kenealy in Stoke, are two incidents which are somewhat illustrative of what may be called the "transition period" in British politics; and what they illustrate is the purely sentimental view which the new voters seem disposed to take of the ballot both in England and Ireland, or, in other words, of their readiness to use it simply as a mode of expressing feeling, and without any reference whatever to policy or expediency. In Ireland, the voters have undergone, beyond all question, a pretty thorough process of secularization within the last twenty years. The influence of the Catholic clergy has declined as the church has been emancipated, and as foreign, and especially American, influence on manners and ideas has made itself more distinctly felt. The Fenian movement, which had its origin on this side of the water, never received any countenance from the priests, and it is safe to say that neither does the Home-rule movement. The more astute ecclesiastical politicians see clearly enough the advantages of a strong Protestant government, which, while ensuring security and tranquillity, furnishes the church with somebody to inveigh against, and which prepares "insidious wiles" and "snares" against which the clergy have to guard their flocks. The severance of the English connection, even to the extent contemplated by the Home-rulers, would deprive Cardinal Cullen of the character of a champion, to which he now owes a considerable portion of his influence, if not of his authority, in native eyes. Moreover, the Fenian movement made it pretty clear that if Irish independence were now achieved, the Parliament in College Green would by no means be controlled, as it probably would have been under similar circumstances forty years ago, by the clergy. The priests, if they had any influence at all on the elections or on legislation, would have to share it with a large body of American citizens, who would promptly return to the land of their birth to show the people how to "run the machine" on the New York or South Carolina model. There would be a good deal of talk about Malachi, and Brien Boru, and Patrick Sarsfield, and Wolfe Tone, but the work would be done under inspiration derived from "Boss" Tweed, "Boss" Shepherd, Niles G. Parker, Peter B. Sweeny, and other statesmen of that description. Gentlemen, in the sense in which the word is used either in the New or the Old World, would be carefully excluded from any share in the administration, through fear of re-establishing "the accursed system of caste." The church might possibly be appeased with large endowments for schools, colleges, or convents, but their value would be greatly lessened by the prevalent insecurity, or by the probable atheism and indifference to the ordinances of religion of the politicians of the new school. In fact, it may be fairly said that the church would not only gain nothing morally by the achievement of Irish independence, but would probably lose a good deal. It is even doubtful whether it has not suffered through the overthrow of the Protestant Establishment, because this did away with an invaluable wrong, for which the transfer of the revenues to "the old religion" would have been the only adequate compensation.

The general result is that the Irish voter is a freer and more obstreperous being than he ever was. He has got over much of his reverence for his clergy, and, the Tenure-of-Land Act having made him pretty independent of his landlord, he is really getting to be very prosperous materially. The last annual report of Dr. Hancock, the statistician, shows that the investments in Ireland in Government funds, joint-stock banks, and deposits in savings-banks, have increased during the past year by over $11,000,000. The total in 1864 was only $274,440,000; it was, at the close of 1874, $346,000,000, calculating the gold pound at five paper dollars. The amount of deposits in the joint-stock banks was in 1864 $75,115,000; it is now just double that amount. The deposits in the savings-banks are now $15,000,000; and other indications of the growth of wealth and of its increasing diffusion are equally favorable. The result is that seriousness has largely gone out of politics, and elections have come to have the character of a huge frolic, which gives the voters an opportunity of doing a little homage to a popular hero or hurling farcical defiance at some popular foe.

The election of Mitchel seems to have been one of these caricatures of popular government which we may now expect to become by no means uncommon. There is nothing in the man's career to win for him the respect of people in any stage of civilization. He talked fiercely of fighting, and never fought. He gave his parole as a prisoner, and broke it by a trick. He made himself here the apologist and ally of slaveholders and the enemy of the Government which had sheltered him. He is now old and feeble, as well as foolish, with nothing about him to strike the imagination in the smallest degree; he was bred a Unitarian, and he is an avowed sceptic. Nevertheless, the Tipperary people went wild over him, illuminated their houses and got drunk in his honor, and apparently, when they voted for him, did not care a straw whether he ever sat or not.

One might set this affair down to the account of Irish excitability if it were not for the election of Kenealy in England at the same time. The sole excuse for sending him to Parliament from a North-of-England borough is, that he was roughly handled by the Lord Chief-Justice at a trial in London, and was disbarred for publishing a scurrilous and libellous paper. But this mode of selecting legislators is hardly more rational than the hereditary mode, and is hardly more defensible than electing a man because he had lost a lawsuit or been burnt out without insurance. Nor is the matter mended by ascribing it to sympathy with the Claimant, because, if the Claimant be not an aristocrat trying to get back into the aristocracy, he is a common impostor, and in neither case has any claim that one can well explain on the sympathy of the workingman. There were signs of this strange inconsequence a year or two ago when Dundee elected a young, unknown man because he had composed a slight *jeu d'esprit* called 'Ginx's Baby,' revealing a certain amount of vague sympathy with the poor, over a jurist and legislator of the highest rank in the person of Mr. Fitzjames Stephen. A vagary of this kind would, perhaps, have been explicable had either of them had any personal connection with the borough, but they were both strangers. The electors, in fact, looking abroad over the United Kingdom for a representative, fixed on the obscure author of a small tale as the fittest man for their purpose, which would be somewhat like sending Mr. Bret Harte to the Senate from Maine for writing the 'Heathen Chinee' in California, though the author of 'Ginx's Baby' can make no pretence to Mr. Harte's literary standing.

As the working-class voters get into the way of using their newly acquired political powers under the guidance of their own feelings and impulses, we may expect an increasing number of such additions as Mitchel and Kenealy to the House of Commons. Men of strange fortunes and odd claims on popular sympathy will make their way into Parliament through some such incident or peculiarity as would catch for them the attention or applause of a crowd in the streets; and this will probably last until popular or working-

class constituencies begin to have a positive policy of their own, or, in other words, until they earnestly seek certain kinds of legislation, which thus far they do not, and their affairs are taken in charge by caucuses, or managers. At present, they are barely beginning to enjoy the power of electing and the consciousness of being represented. Before long, they will probably desire to impress their views on the policy of the Government, and, when this point is reached, representatives like Mitchel or Kenealy will hardly serve their purpose.

It ought to be said, too, that if the newly made voters abused their power much more than they are likely to do, they would not be so much to blame for it as those reformers who, during the last fifty years, have, both here and in Europe, been working for the extension of the suffrage. In their eagerness to break down privilege they preached the "natural right" theory of the franchise so forcibly as to dissociate in the popular mind the exercise of it from all responsibility. They made believe that everybody's title to vote was so strong and absolute that how one voted was nobody's business, and talked of representation as if it was in itself the fountain of all blessings, without regard to its quality. From this absurd doctrine has naturally flowed another still more absurd, that it is desirable that every constituency should reproduce its own morality and intelligence in its member; that if the ignorant and vicious, in short, send ignorant and vicious men to the legislature, nobody has any business to complain—as if a member's character affected nobody but those who elected him, or as if Kenealy's vote could not touch Gladstone, or Bright, or Darwin, or Fawcett, or Dean Stanley. The process by which this conclusion about representation has been reached reminds one of the state of mind of the opponents of capital punishment about convictions. After using for a great many years the difficulty of obtaining convictions as an argument against hanging, they gradually worked themselves into the belief that, the end of prosecution being conviction, if you only succeeded in securing a conviction, the nature or effect of the punishment was of no consequence; and they will accordingly show you with a triumphant air a table of convictions for murder, followed by sentences of imprisonment amounting (in practice) to terms of seven years on the average; and, if you ask what effect this has had on the frequency of man-slaying, will treat the question as impertinent. In like manner, many friends of popular government will inform you joyfully that the Workingman, or the Colored Man, or Woman, is at last "represented," and, if you ask how represented, will tell you that that is no affair of yours—that the voter settles this in his closet with his Maker.

THE HOPKINS UNIVERSITY.

THE Baltimore *American*, discussing the plan of the Hopkins University in that city, says "the *Nation* suggests to the Board of Trustees a university that would leave Latin, Greek, mathematics, and the elements of natural science out of its curriculum." This is so great a mistake that we are at a loss to understand how it could have been made. The *Nation* has never suggested anything of the kind. The university which the *Nation* has expressed the hope the Trustees would found, is simply a university with such a high standard for admission on all subjects that the professors would be saved the necessity of teaching the rudiments of either Latin, Greek, mathematics, or natural science; or, in other words, that the country would be saved considerable waste of skilled labor. The reason why we have ventured to expect this of the Hopkins Trustees is that they enjoy the all but unprecedented advantage of being left in possession of a very large bequest, with complete liberty, within very wide limits, as to the disposition of it. In other words, they are to found a university with it, but as to the kind of university, they may exercise their discretion. That this is a very exceptional position everybody familiar with the history of American colleges knows. All the older colleges are bound to the State, or to certain religious denominations, by laws or usages or precedents which impose a certain tolerably fixed character either on the subjects taught or on the mode of teaching them, or on both. They have traditions to uphold, or denominational interests to care for, or political prejudices to satisfy. The newer ones, on the other hand, are apt to have incurred a bondage even worse still, in having to carry out the wishes of a founder who, in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred, had only a faint notion of the nature and needs of a university, and in endowing one sought rather to erect a monument to his memory than to found a seat of learning. In so far as he was interested in the curriculum, he probably desired that it should be such as would satisfy some want which he himself felt, or thought he felt, in early life, or should diffuse some social or religious or political crotchet on which his fancy had secretly fed during his years of active exertion, and on the success of which he came to think, in the latter part of his life, that the best interests of the community were dependent. The number of these honorably ambitious but ill-informed and somewhat eccentric testators increases every year, as the country grows in wealth and the habit of giving to public objects gains in strength. The consequence is that we are threatened with the spectacle during the coming century of the greatest waste of money by well-meaning persons the world has perhaps ever seen, in the establishment all over the country of institutions calling themselves "universities" which are either so feebly equipped as rather to hinder than help the cause of education, or so completely committed by their organization to the propagation of certain social or religious theories as to deserve the appellation of mission stations rather than of colleges. We speak advisedly when we say that the cause of the higher education in the United States is really threatened as seriously by unwise donors of funds as by almost anything else. Education is now an art of exceeding delicacy and complexity. To master it, so as to have a trustworthy opinion as to the relative value of studies and as to the best mode of pursuing them, and as to the organization of institutions devoted to the work of instruction, a man needs both learning and experience. The giving him money to employ in his special work, therefore, without leaving him discretion as to the manner in which he shall use it, is to prepare almost certainly for its waste in more than one direction. To make the most of the resources of the country for educational purposes, it is necessary above all things that they should be placed at the disposal of those who have made education a special study, and who are free, as we understand the Hopkins Trustees to be, from any special bias or bond, and are ready or willing to look at the subject from every side. Their liberty, of course, brings with it great responsibility, all the greater for the reasons we have been enumerating.

Now, as to the use which they should make of this liberty, the Baltimore *American* fears that if they found a university of the class sketched by us some weeks ago, "the people of Maryland would be greatly disappointed—there would not be over fifty students," and "there would be a great outcry against the investment of three and a half millions of dollars for the benefit of so small a number." Whether the people of Maryland will be disappointed or not depends on the amount of consideration they give the matter. If they are satisfied that the foundation of such a university as is now talked of is the best use than can be made of the money, they will not be disappointed, and there will be no "outcry" at all. Being an intelligent people, they will on reflection see that the value of a university by no means depends solely on the proportion borne by the number of its students to the amount of its revenues, because, judged in this way—that is, as instruments of direct popular benefit—all the universities in the country might be pronounced failures. The vast mass of the community derives no *direct* benefit from them at all. Harvard, for instance, has an endowment of about $5,000,000, we believe, and the total number of its students is only 1,200, while the population of the State of Massachusetts is 1,500,000, so that, even supposing all the students to come from Massachusetts, which they do not, less than one person in every 1,000 profits by the University. The same story might be told of Yale or any other college. Considered as what are called popular institutions—that is, institutions from which everybody can or does derive some calculable, palpable benefit—the universities of this and every other country are useless, and there ought on this theory to be a prodigious "outcry" against them, and they ought, on the principle of equality, if allowed to exist at all, to be allowed to exist only on condition that they will give a degree at least, or offer an education, to every male citizen of sound mind. But nobody takes this view of them. The poorest and most ignorant hod-carrier would not hold, if asked, that because he cannot go to college there ought to be no colleges. Sensible people in every country acknowledge that a high education can in the nature of things be only obtained by a very small proportion of the population; but that the few who seek it, and can afford to take it, should get it, and should get it of the best quality, they hold to be a public benefit. Now, why a public benefit? The service that Harvard or Yale renders to the community certainly does not lie simply in the fact that it qualifies a thousand young men every year to earn a livelihood. They would earn a livelihood in all probability whether they went to college or not. The vast majority of men earn a livelihood without going to college or thinking of it. Indeed, it is doubted by many persons, and with much show of reason, whe-

ther a man does not earn it all the more readily for not going to college at all; and as regards the work of the world of all kinds, the great bulk of it is done, and well done, by persons who have not received a university education and do not regret it. So that the benefits which the country derives from the universities consist mainly in the refining and elevating influences which they create, in the taste for study and research which they diffuse, in the social and political ideals which they frame and hold up for admiration, in the confidence in the power of knowledge which they indirectly spread among the people, and in the small though steady contributions they make to that reverence for "things not seen" in which the soul of the state may be said to lie, and without which it is nothing better than a factory or an insurance company.

There is nothing novel about the considerations we are here urging. The problem over which university reformers have been laboring in every country during the past forty years has been, how to rid the universities, properly so called, of the care of the feeble, inefficient, and poorly-prepared students, and reserve their teaching for the better fitted, older, and more matured; or, in other words, how, in the interest both of economy and culture, to reserve the highest teaching power of the community for the most promising material. It is exactly forty years since John Stuart Mill wrote a celebrated attack on the English universities, then in a very low condition, in which he laid it down broadly that the end above all for which endowed universities ought to exist was "to keep alive philosophy," leaving "the education of common minds for the common business of life" for the most part to private enterprise. This seemed at the time exacting too much, and it doubtless seems so still; but it is nevertheless true that ever since that period universities of the highest class, both in Europe and in this country, have been working in that direction—striving, that is to say, either to sift the applicants for admission, by imposing increasingly severe tests, and thus presenting to the professors only pupils of the highest grade to work upon; or, at all events, if not repelling the ill-fitted, expending all their strength in furnishing the highest educational advantages to the well-fitted. In the last century, Harvard and Yale were doing just the kind of work that the high schools now do—that is, taking young lads and teaching them the elements of literature. At the present day they are throwing this work as far as possible on the primary schools, and reserving their professors and libraries and apparatus, as far as the state of the country and the conditions of their organization will permit, for those older and advanced students who bring to the work of learning both real ardor and real preparation. A boy has to know more to get into either of them to-day than his grandfather knew when he graduated. Nevertheless, with all the efforts they can make after this true economy of power and resources, there is in both of them a large amount of waste of labor. There are men in both of them, and in various other colleges, much of whose work is almost as much a misuse of energy and time as if they were employed so many hours a day in carrying hods of mortar, simply because they are doing what the masters of primary schools ought to do, and what no man at a university ought to be asked to do. It is a kind of work, too, which, if it have to be done in colleges at all, is already abundantly provided for by endowment. No Maryland youth who desires to learn a little mathematics, get a smattering of classics, and some faint notions of natural science, or even to support himself by manual labor while doing this, will suffer if the Hopkins endowment is used for higher work. The country swarms already with institutions which meet his needs, and in which he can graduate with ease to himself and credit to his State. The Trustees of this one will do him and the State and the whole country most service, therefore, by providing a place to which, after he has got hold of the rudiments at some other college, he can come, if he has the right stuff in him, and pursue to the end the studies for which all universities should really be reserved.

PROPOSED CHANGES IN INTERNATIONAL LAW.

M. CALVO, author of the latest work in the French language upon international law, has published, in the form of a tract of a little less than one hundred pages, his report to the Institute of International Law at its late session at Geneva. It is entitled 'Examen des trois Règles de Droit international proposées dans le Traité de Washington.'

The tract is much more than the title indicates. It begins with an historic statement of the position of the United States in regard to the neutral powers during the civil war; of the facts relating to the *Alabama* and the other offending vessels; and of the diplomatic correspondence between the United States and Great Britain, down to the appointment of the Joint High Commission in 1871. It then gives a summary of the work of the Commission, with special reference to the Three Rules; and follows this with an abstract of the American and English "Cases," arguments of counsel, opinions of the arbitrators, and debates in Parliament upon the subjects submitted to the Tribunal. The author then takes up the subject of the duties of neutrals and the rights of belligerents as to matters upon which the Three Rules have a bearing. He examines, in historical order, the principal treaties, acts of belligerent and neutral governments, opinions of jurists, and interior legislation of states, for the purpose of showing that the Three Rules introduce no new principle or practice into international law, but simply express and define what was already generally recognized. He considers the establishment of these Rules for the purpose of the decision by the arbitrators, and the agreement to promote their operation in future cases, to have been owing to the fact that they were in some respects called in doubt by England, and might hereafter be by any nation upon whom they might bear unfavorably, and not to the absence of a usual general acceptance of the principles on which they rested. He credits our Government with the intention to secure these principles beyond dispute or cavil hereafter by accepted definitions and solemn agreements to abide by them. He gives a thoroughgoing and unqualified support to the American side of this controversy, except as to the indirect damages, and entirely sustains the construction of the Three Rules adopted by the majority of the Tribunal at Geneva.

The latter part of the tract is devoted to the subject of contraband commerce, blockade, the prohibition of privateers, and the inviolability of the private property of enemy citizens on the high seas. On these points he inclines to the extreme views which have usually been taken by the jurists of the Continent of Europe, not as to what now is but as to what ought to be the law and practice between nations.

The learned author proposes that the Institute of International Law shall recommend the chief powers to establish a mixed commission; that this commission incorporate the new or the not undoubted propositions respecting neutrality into a declaration like that of Paris of 1856, to which all nations shall be invited to give their adherence. He suggests the substance of a form of declaration for the above purpose, in eight articles, of which the following is a sufficient sketch:

Art. I. The principles heretofore applied to private property on land shall hereafter be extended to private property at sea. Privateers shall not be licensed, and ships-of-war shall make no pursuit, search, or capture of any private vessels, neutral or enemy, whatever be the nationality of the owners of the cargo, except in the case of vessels engaged in acts of piracy, or convicted of having violated blockade, or of being loaded with contraband.

Art. II. No vessel bound to a blockaded port, having no contraband goods on board, shall be liable to seizure or capture, unless some commander of a blockading cruiser shall have first given her notice of the blockade by an endorsement on the ship's papers.

Art. III. limits contraband to some twenty articles specified, mostly weapons or ammunition,—"et autres instruments quelconques fabriqués à l'usage de la guerre."

Art. IV. Each nation desiring to maintain neutrality shall give notice to the belligerents within three months after the declaration of war.

Art. V. To entitle a nation to the rights of neutrality, she shall be bound (1) to prohibit all manner of enlistments within her jurisdiction for the military or naval service of either belligerent. (2) Absolutely to prohibit the construction, fitting out, or selling for the account of either belligerent, of any vessel intended to be employed as a ship-of-war, privateer, or transport. (3) To prohibit the manufacture or exportation of contraband goods destined for either belligerent state.

Art. VI. The neutral state shall be held obliged to have sufficient legislation and penal provisions and police force, and shall make a *bonâ-fide* use of the same, with alacrity, to prevent or repress all attempts at the infraction of its duties respecting neutrality by sea or land, by all means in its power.

Art. VII. Any negligence in the performance of the duties announced in the preceding article, resulting in an effect upon the struggle, by impairing or embarrassing the results of operations in which a belligerent is engaged, shall lose the neutral state the benefit of its neutrality, and render it liable to make good in damages any injury its conduct has brought upon a belligerent state or its subjects.

Art. VIII. The neutral state which has strictly and in good faith conformed to its obligations as a neutral, may continue its commercial relations, except as to contraband goods, with all the ports of a belligerent which are not blockaded or invested.

That which will most interest the world is the changes which the report recommends. These changes relate to subjects which have been discussed

so fully for many years that no one can do much more than sum up arguments and considerations with which jurists are familiar. It is purposed to examine these proposed changes in their order.

PRIVATE PROPERTY AT SEA. (ART. I.)

This article proposes that the same principles be hereafter applied to private property at sea, as to capture, which have heretofore been applied to private property on land.

This is an attractive suggestion at first sight, but, on fuller consideration, many difficulties present themselves. First, what are the principles heretofore applied to private property on land? The rules respecting it are far more uncertain and complex, and depend far more on circumstances, than those bearing upon ships and cargoes at sea, as the kinds of property on land and their circumstances are infinitely more various. There are exigencies of battles and campaigns which authorize the destruction of all kinds of property, even the habitations and means of subsistence of man and beast. It is at the discretion of the invading force whether it shall subsist upon the invaded country; and, if it does so, it takes and uses everything it needs, subject to no law but humane consifierations for the life and immediate comfort of the inhabitants. Merchandise stored for the purpose of sale would be taken without hesitation if needed. The invaders may take for their own use or destroy any kind of property which, if left untouched, would contribute directly to the military resources of the enemy state. Mere personal effects, works of art, science, or letters, would be spared, if used as such, and not held *in commercio*. (Nothing is captured at sea but merchandise, held *in commercio*, voluntarily embarked as such, *lucri causâ*.) In war on land no such thing is known as prize—that is, the transfer of commercial property or its proceeds, in which the enemy state has an interest, to the treasury of the capturing power, by judicial decisions. Simple booty or loot is sometimes permitted on land in special cases, but never at sea. An invading army may leave desolation behind it to delay the march of the enemy. What reasons or rules applicable to Sherman's march through Georgia and the Carolinas, or Sheridan's through the valley of the Shenandoah, can be transferred and applied to invoiced and insured cargoes, in ships registered and licensed by the enemy state, bound into an enemy port, there to pay duties to the enemy treasury equal perhaps to half their value or more? Besides, seizures of private property on land are made in territory where are the habitations and property of the citizens, where they have always been, and from which they cannot well be removed. Marine captures are made upon the common and neutral territory of the sea, where the property has been voluntarily sent as a commercial enterprise, the risks undertaken for the sake of the profits. The truth is there is so little analogy between marine and land captures that they have always been embraced in different categories and governed by different rules, as they rest upon widely different reasons. Property on land is of every possible character, variety, and degree, from the most sacred to the most common, from the most necessary to the most superfluous, from pure merchandise in the market to the most cherished personal objects. Search for it would involve the entering and searching of habitations, among women and children, the sick and the aged, by detached squads of soldiers, often with little chance for identification or control, where the captors are invaders, and where there is every liability and provocation to bloodshed, violence, and outrage. Private property at sea, subject to capture, is merchandise, selected for the purpose of the venture from the mass of property on land, the subject of insurance, and voluntarily embarked upon the common territory of the sea, solely *lucri causâ*, under regulations of the enemy state, contributing directly to its resources for war by duties and imposts levied at its discretion. It is put on board ships selected for the purpose, in the charge of seafaring men who have voluntarily embarked in the business with full knowledge, for the sake of the pay. The capture need never be attended by fighting; the unarmed merchantmen, if unable to escape, yielding to a necessity foreseen from the beginning by owners, insurers, and crew alike. The whole transaction may be as quiet as a transfer of credits from one belligerent to another on the books of the Barings. The responsible captor is the commissioned commander of a public ship, and all property captured must be taken into port and submitted to judicial investigation and decision, the officers of the captured vessel being always necessary witnesses. It has something of the features of a contention of exchequers under judicial supervision.

No one can satisfactorily examine the questions involved in the proposed articles unless he has a clear view of the one principle on which all belligerent restraint and repression of maritime commerce rest. War is coercion for a purpose. The more that coercion can be brought to bear upon materials and resources, and the less on life and limb, the better. It is within possibility that the isolation of a state from all commerce by blockade and maritime capture, with an army of investiture, may be coercion enough, without much actual fighting on land. The purpose of maritime capture is not to punish, distress, or impoverish individuals, but to cripple the resources of the state. The test of liability to capture is the property's actual or possible contribution to these resources. Maritime capture does not rest upon any of the reasons which govern penal or criminal proceedings. There is nothing in the nature of penalty for offences about it, except of course in special cases of violation of the rules of war. The citizen of an enemy state is not, as such, an offender, or liable to any punishment or penalty, whether he is a combatant or a non-combatant. The motive or the state of mind of the owner of property is no test of its liability to capture, whether he be a citizen of an enemy state, or of a neutral state, or even a loyal subject of the capturing power. The nature and predicament of the property are the test as well in case of contraband as of what is called "enemy property." All private property of a citizen of the enemy state is not "enemy property"; and, on the other hand, the property of a neutral or a friend may be "enemy property" in certain predicaments. It is only such private property as is brought within the category of "enemy property" that is the subject of capture; and that category is determined by certain rules which mainly refer to the actual, possible, or presumed relations of the property to the resources of the enemy state.

Many writers, and some of our best, have spoken of neutral carriers of contraband as offenders, and of the condemnation of their goods as a punishment or penalty for their offence. This is not careful language, and lets in a good deal of error. Neither they, nor even neutral blockade-runners, are offenders against any law, either international or municipal. Neutrals have a legal right to deliver their contraband, or run a blockade, if they can, by peaceful means, and the belligerent has a right to intercept them and convert to his own use the cargo and, in some cases, the vessel. But he cannot treat the neutral persons concerned as offenders, or inflict any kind of penalty on their persons or property for having done or attempted those acts. These enterprises are like lotteries permitted by law, in which a man may lose his venture, but for which he cannot be punished. Even the citizen of an enemy state is not an offender, and must be treated, whether a combatant or non-combatant, as one engaged or involved in a lawful enterprise. The introduction into the discussion of war powers of the phraseology of penal or criminal law, penalties or forfeitures for offences (except in case of violations of laws of war), may lead to mistakes as to the radical principles and reasons governing the subject.

These are by no means all the reasons which might be given in explanation of the present system and as objections to the proposed rule, but they are perhaps enough to show that the subject is one requiring much graver consideration than is often given to it. The question is this: Do humanity and public policy require that the law of nations shall give to all citizens of a State engaged in war passports over the high seas for purely commercial enterprises, guaranteeing the payment of the duties and imports into its treasury, as sinews of war, against all hostile intervention? Especially, whether this is desirable as free institutions increase and citizens are more and more responsible for the acts and attitude of their state? Shall the repression of enemy commerce on the high seas be no longer a legitimate means of coercion in time of war?

CONTRABAND GOODS. (ARTICLES III., V.)

Article III. proposes to limit contraband to some twenty specified articles of military weapons and equipment, "et autres instruments quelconques fabriqués à l'usage de la guerre." As the law of nations now stands, articles in their nature ambiguous, or, as the phrase is, *ancipitis usûs*, may be treated as contraband under certain circumstances. For instance, provisions destined to a besieged town; spars, coal, and steam-machinery bound to a port which is a naval arsenal; or ship's stores bound to a neutral port, not for a market, but to be delivered to the enemy's fleet lying at anchor in such port. The test is their liability to become a direct contribution to the war powers and resources of the enemy. As the rule of contraband is applied only to neutral property, the test of liability to contribute must be more clear, strong, and direct than is needed in case of property of an enemy citizen. All property of an enemy citizen may be said to contribute in some degree to the resources of the state. His property, found on the highway of nations, is liable to capture, except where it is exempted by certain rules dictated by humanity and an enlarged public policy. The property of the neutral, on the contrary, has, *primâ facie*, no relation to the enemy's state, is *primâ facie* exempt, and can be taken only where a strong case is made out against it; and that case is limited to one of direct contribution to the aid of the enemy, not in the way of general resources, but

of specific and immediate military use. Upon this principle, some articles, like swords, muskets, and powder, being mainly of military use, are always contraband, if destined to an enemy's port. Other articles, such as pianofortes, pictures, and marble statues, are never contraband. But the greater part of supposable articles are of a mixed and ambiguous character, yet may, under some circumstances, form a most direct and effective contribution to the relief of the enemy. Hitherto, prize courts have not limited themselves to an inspection of the physical nature of the articles, but have enquired into other facts bearing upon their destination and inevitable contribution to the aid or relief of the enemy. A cargo of steamer's coals, destined to Malta, Gibraltar, or Aden, of steam machinery to Norfolk, or of breadstuffs to a besieged town closely pressed by famine, would be held contraband; and so would a steamship, unarmed, and with only a navigating crew, if easily convertible into a crusier, bound for an enemy's port in ballast, to be sold in the market. If the new rule is adopted, all circumstances will be shut out, and only what is purely a necessary weapon or equipment for battle can be cut off from reaching the enemy, if the property of a neutral.

But the most important proposal of all is that of Article V. It is scarce possible to limit the effects it may produce upon the duties of neutral states and the industries of neutral countries. It proposes that neutral states shall be required to prohibit the manufacture or exportation of articles contraband of war "qui seraient destinés à l'un des états belligérants." If this means destined to ports or territory of the belligerent state for a market, it is a proposal which we think will hardly be listened to by any state having large manufactures or commerce; nor would it be much more favored by a maritime state with small means of manufacturing articles of war and dependent for them on foreign trade. A large part of the capital, industry, and skill of the world is permanently invested in the manufacture and transportation, in time of peace as well as of war, of things which all admit to be contraband in case of war. Governments, corporations, and individuals must always be supplying themselves with such articles, not solely in view of possible war, but as a protection against domestic violence, private dangers from men or beasts, for purposes of the chase, civic celebrations, and many public works. That this whole industry, of so permanent a character, shall be subject to such repression and interruption in case of a war between two foreign powers, would be a most serious matter as regards those industries alone. But it becomes still more grave when we remember that the neutral government will be required, at the peril of war or reclamations, to be diligent in the use of detective and repressive force to prevent such manufacture and traffic. If the proposed article refers, as it probably does, only to such goods when intended to be sent and delivered directly to the authorities of a belligerent state, under a contract with such authorities, the objection will be diminished, but by no means removed. If a neutral citizen carries articles contraband of war, which are the property of the belligerent state before their exportation, or which, by a previous contract with such state, he is to deliver into its possession, he may be something more than a dealer in contraband; he may be liable to be treated as engaged in the enemy's service. If the obligation of the neutral state is confined to the prevention of the organizing and equipping of what is by itself a naval or military force or expedition, or the component parts of one, including vessels of war, it is a reasonable requirement. But it may well be doubted if it will be thought reasonable or even of much practical value to require watch and ward over the making and exporting of separate articles—such as guns, swords, powder, balls, saltpetre, saddles, and harness—though destined by contract for the possession of the public authorities of the belligerent. Whichever be the intent of the article, is it not better that these permanent industries of the world should be allowed to go on in spite of wars between other nations, the private parties interested taking the chance of their capture upon the high seas?

BLOCKADE. (ART. II.)

The learned author proposes, in this article, no change in the law of blockade, and no definition of points in doubt. As to notification of an existing blockade, the provision is substantially that which President Lincoln made in his proclamation of April 18, 1861, establishing the first blockade,—"If, with a view to violate such blockade, a vessel shall approach, or shall attempt to leave, any of the said ports, she shall be duly warned by the commander of one of the blockading vessels, who will endorse on her register the fact and date of such warning; and, if the same vessel shall again attempt to enter or leave the blockaded port, she will be captured." This clause was omitted in the proclamation of 27th April, extending the blockade to the ports of Virginia and North Carolina. Commodore Pendegrast, in a proclamation announcing the actual existence of this blockade, limits this warning to vessels approaching without knowledge of its existence.

Our diplomatic correspondence on this subject was not definite or decisive; but the prize courts of the United States gave to the paragraph the only construction, it must be confessed somewhat forced, which would not make the proclamation *felo de se*, namely, that it was intended for the benefit of the innocent and not of the guilty. Judge Grier says ('Prize Causes,' 2 Black, 678), "According to the construction contended for [by the claimant], the vessel seeking to evade the blockade might approach and retreat any number of times, and, when caught, her captors could do nothing but warn her, and endorse the warning upon her register. The same process might be repeated at every port on the blockaded coast. Indeed, according to the literal terms of the proclamation, the *Alabama* might approach, and, if captured, insist upon a warning and endorsement of her register, and then upon her discharge." Indeed, under the proposed rule, during a large maritime war, the neutral ports nearest the blockaded region would be found full of fast-sailing steamers, advertised to take cargoes for running blockade, and warranted unwarned. If all that is meant by Art. II. is that such a notification shall be given to vessels having no actual or constructive notice of the establishment of a blockade at sea, it is of little value, such notices having always been legitimate, and used when necessary and practicable. To require them, to the exclusion of other modes of notification, even to an innocent vessel, would be unwise.

PRIVATEERS. (ARTICLE I.)

As to privateers, the world seems pretty well agreed that the objections to allowing them outweigh the policy and rights of states which are at the disadvantage of having small navies and a large and exposed commerce. Their prohibition is immediately in the interest of great naval powers, and the right to use them is one which smaller states cannot be required to relinquish but by consent. In our civil war we were able to dispense with privateers by the device of establishing a volunteer navy for the period of the war: and other states having a large mercantile marine may do the same.

FOREIGN ENLISTMENT OR NEUTRALITY ACTS. (ARTICLES VI., VII.)

These articles bear upon the points arising under the Treaty of Washington of 1871, and the decision of the arbitrators at Geneva.

It may be assumed as now settled that if a neutral state fails of its duty, the absence of adequate legislation or of detective or coercive machinery furnishes no justification. If this absence was without bad faith or gross neglect, it may be an excuse which a belligerent should accept. The importance of the proposed articles on this head lies principally in other directions. They propose to prohibit absolutely in neutral ports "la construction, l'armement ou la vente pour compte de l'un ou l'autre belligérant, de tout bâtiment destiné à être employé comme navire de guerre, croiseur ou transport." They make it the duty of the neutral not only to have the proper machinery but to use it, *bonâ fide*, "avec empressement," to prevent or repress any infractions of these duties attempted or committed. The articles do not use the phrase "due diligence," but make the neutral answerable for the consequences of "toute négligence" in the performance of these duties. These consequences must be such as shall have had an influence upon the contest by affecting injuriously the results of operations of either belligerent. There seems to be no attempt at drawing a line between direct and indirect consequences, or at determining the extent to which the consequences of the injury can be traced, in respect to awarding damages. These omissions are no doubt intentional, and seem to be judicious. It is also proper to bear in mind that M. Calvo does not put forward these articles as the final definitions or the exact phraseology which the declaration should assume, but rather as sketches of the objects and bearing of the proposed rules. Article V., section 2, on the subject of building and fitting out vessels which are intended to be used by a foreign belligerent, does not seem to go beyond the provisions of the British Neutrality Act of 1870, or the judicial constructions which have been given to our own Act of 1818.

Whatever opinions may be entertained as to the expediency of some of the provisions recommended by these articles, and they are fairly open questions, not only the Institute of International Law, but the jurists and statesmen of all nations, are under obligations to M. Calvo for the great pains he has taken in bringing his studies and thought to bear upon these subjects, for the thoroughness of his preparation, and for the unquestionable value of many of his suggestions.

R. H. Dana, jr.

Boston, Feb. 5, 1875.

A FRENCH LOVE-MAKING IN THE LAST CENTURY.

PARIS, February 12, 1875.

THE eighteenth century has been much abused for its frivolity, its levity; and it has, so to speak, abused itself as much as possible in its literature. Whenever we think of the men and women of that period, they appear to us in a sort of decoration drawn by Boucher and Watteau, surrounded with Cupids and with fantastic shepherdesses, in an artificial scenery; they sing and laugh and smile; they ignore sorrow and death and the approaching Revolution; their lives are woven with silks of all colors, and seem like a perpetual masquerade. This is the classic conception of the eighteenth century, but it is, of course, only partly correct; for in the most artificial civilization Nature does not lose her immortal rights. Read Madame du Deffant's correspondence with Walpole, and you will find under her frivolity a depth of melancholy, of *ennui*, which is almost too dreadful. Rousseau touched the inner chords of mankind when he defended nature and what was then called sensibility—that is, the eternal passions of our race. M. de Loménie, who has, more than anybody in our time, shown us the true eighteenth century in his 'Beaumarchais,' has shown in his history of Madame de Rochefort that the men and women of her time had a very remarkable disposition for long, enduring, and passionate friendships. Love was not always found in the bonds of matrimony, as marriages were made and arranged without the choice of the parties. But in the struggle for life of society, partnerships were formed which were often indissoluble.

A correspondence has just been published which is worthy of the greatest interest, as it shows this side of the manners of our ancestors in a very extraordinary manner. It is the correspondence of the once famous Chevalier de Boufflers, who still holds his place among our minor poets, and the Countess of Sabran. Boufflers was so witty that Madame du Deffant could ask herself if he had not as much *esprit* as Voltaire himself. His 'Journey to Switzerland and to Ferney,' written half in prose and half in verse, is very typical; his 'Queen of Golconda' made his reputation as a poet; but he chiefly excelled in those small pieces which are mere trifles of literature. He addresses, for instance, verses to Brilliant, the pet cat of the Maréchale de Luxembourg, and ends thus:

"Luxembourg est votre maîtresse;
Que n'est-elle la mienne aussi?"

Boufflers wrote the 'Queen of Golconda' when he was still in orders; he had the promise of a bishopric, but he did not feel what is called the vocation for the Church. The Abbé de Boufflers was unwilling, however, to lose forty thousand francs in ecclesiastical benefices which King Stanislas of Lorraine had promised him, and he got himself made a Knight of Malta, as this order allowed him to own benefices. He entered the army, and made a campaign in Hesse in 1762. He was colonel of the Chartres regiment in 1777. At the time when he made the acquaintance of Madame de Sabran he was twenty-seven years of age, while she was already thirty-nine. From her portraits, she must have been charming. She had essentially "la grâce, plus belle encore que la beauté"—to use a verse of Voltaire's; eyes full of softness, what the French call smiling eyes; a sinuous and intelligent mouth, an expression of great elegance, distinction without pride. Madame de Sabran, though she did not live at court, belonged to the best society. We find among her friends the Countess of Andlau, a daughter of Helvetius, the Princesse d'Aremberg, the Polignacs, the Countess Daschkoff, and Prince Henry of Prussia, a brother of Frederic the Great, who was, like many Germans of his time, quite a Francomaniac.

Madame de Sabran lived in the winter in a hotel of the Faubourg Saint-Honoré, and in the summer at Anizy-le-Château with her uncle, who was Bishop of Laon. The correspondence begins in 1778, and already Madame de Sabran calls the Chevalier familiarly "my brother." She was a widow with two children, Elzear and Delphine, and soon assumes a maternal tone towards the gallant Chevalier; after a little while she calls him constantly "mon enfant." She falls in love with him, and bids him "Go, be as free as air; use and abuse your liberty; I love you too much to make you feel the weight of a heavy chain. I wish you to be guided towards me by your own will, and not by any politeness or obligingness; I will not be happy at your expense." This marks the nature of the first relations between them; she feels the difference in their ages more than he does; she is afraid of losing him, and treats him like a spoiled child. There is so much real affection in her charming letters that one cannot help wondering why she does not marry him, though she is twelve years older than he is. Alas! Boufflers had too much ambition; he knew that he would lose his benefices by marrying. Madame de Sabran had a good fortune, but he did not wish to bring her nothing but his name; he tried to conquer a good, a great position: and it must be said to his credit that he did not hesitate, in order to win the right of marrying Madame de Sabran, to suffer the greatest hardships. He accepted a mission to Senegal. Boufflers in Senegal! No greater sacrifice can be imagined: the pet of the salons of Paris, the refined poet and soldier, under the tropics among the savages. His journal from Senegal to Madame de Sabran shows us a new Boufflers, not the artificial author of the 'Queen of Golconda,' but the natural man. He left for Senegal in 1785, and returned for a few months the year after to take his seat in the French Academy. He again went out to Senegal, and came back on the very eve of the Revolution, in time to be named deputy to the States-General in Lorraine. The Revolution broke up all his plans: his long efforts had been vain; he did not conquer the fortune, the position, which seemed so necessary to him.

From the tone of the correspondence and of the journal from Senegal, it can hardly be doubtful that Boufflers and the Countess had been secretly married, probably at the time of Boufflers's first return to France. She calls him constantly "mon mari" after that period, and she makes many allusions which seem to prove what I here advance. When they both became exiles she was already getting old, they both were poor; but they solemnized their marriage at Breslau in 1797. They came back to France in 1800, and Boufflers had to accept a small pension from Napoleon. He died in 1815, at the very moment when his name could have called him to the new House of Peers. His wife, though she was older than he, survived him twelve years; she composed her own epitaph, which is quite worth remembering:

"A la fin, je suis dans le port
Qui fut de tout temps mon envie;
Car j'avais besoin de la mort
Pour me reposer de la vie."

There is a real touch of melancholy in these four lines, a sense of weariness which is sometimes felt also in the long correspondence of the two lovers. Imagine Boufflers in Senegal, Madame de Sabran in the midst of the polite society of Paris; the difficulties of such a correspondence are much greater than can be imagined, for after a while it seems as if the correspondents had no longer anything in common. Madame de Sabran speaks in some of her letters of the book she is writing on manners and society; she had good opportunities for observation, and her remarks on the men and women she sees are very acute. She belongs to the great moralistic school which has never been interrupted in France, from La Bruyère to Vauvenargues. She has what the French call *le trait*, a word which I cannot well translate. For instance, speaking of a man who had just died, she says: "He was the Solomon of our age, *à la sagesse près*" (the wisdom excepted). She describes herself in a drawing-room with an ambassadress, with Madame de Boufflers, the cousin of the Chevalier, and with Madame de Cambise. "I was comparing their various modes of being witty; the ambassadress had chosen the most amiable, Madame de Cambise the most refined, and your dear cousin the maddest." "Marshal Soubise," she says, in another place, "has had a fit; he is now struggling with death, and there is no appearance that he will have the best of it, for he is not accustomed to victory" (an allusion to Rosbach). But Madame de Sabran does not indulge much in criticism; she is of an affectionate disposition, and, what is more striking than anything, under all her *enjouement* there is a perpetual sadness. She had been married as a child to M. de Sabran, who was fifty years older than herself; she had hardly known him; all her affections were centred in her two children and in Boufflers, and Boufflers was away. She knew that when he returned he would find her an older woman: "The days are marching; old age is coming; by what *charms* will you be held by me, by gout or rheumatism?" In another place she says: "You are my God. If I had suffered for the *other* the thousandth part of what I have for you, I should be sure to go to Paradise with a martyr's palm. I have not chosen well. I have attached myself to a master who is light and capricious, who cannot see in my heart the depth of the tenderness I feel for him, and who abandoned me to my weakness at the very moment when I most felt the need of aid and of consolation." This extraordinary separation of two lovers, caused by mere worldly ambition, reminds me of the Latin phrase, "Et propter vitam, vivendi perdere causas." In order to secure future happiness, they renounced all happiness; they lost the best years of life—Madame de Sabran in idle regrets, Boufflers in a vain struggle with fortune.

Boufflers's journal in Senegal has an intrinsic value, if you look upon it not as a mere chapter of a love-story. It shows in very minute details the state of colonization in Saint Louis in the last century, the character of the French agents, of the French navy of that time. Boufflers appears in it in a favorable light, humane, a slave of his new duties, intelligent, active; of course his heart is always in France, in Paris, and the best part of it goes to his charming correspondent, though she always fears that he does

not give enough of it, and is certainly the more generous of the two correspondents.

What has become of the family of this most amiable person? She had two children, Elzear and Delphine. Elzear became, I might almost say of course, the occasion of much trouble to his mother. He was lazy, without character; the emigration threw him into Germany; he returned to France in 1800 with his mother, became a sort of a familiar slave of Madame de Staël, and used to spend weeks at Coppet. He tried his hand at some fables; he wrote a comedy for Madame de Staël; he was a very ordinary man, and he died without having married. Delphine had inherited the wit and loveliness of her mother. She married M. de Custine; she saw her father-in-law and her husband mount the scaffold during the Terror, and remained in Paris with a young child at the risk of her own life. She lived much, till the end of her life, in Normandy, in the Château de Fervaques. Her son is still alive, but he has sold Fervaques. Madame de Sabran died, as I have said, in 1827; she spent the latter part of her life with Elzear, living chiefly on the memories of the past, a phantom of a bygone age among the new society which sprang out of the Revolution.

Correspondence.

"RHETORICAL TRAINING."

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: In the last number of the *Nation* is an article adverse to the teaching of rhetoric in our colleges. The argument seems to be this: Oratory without thought is vain; *ergo*, let there be no teaching of oratory. (Faith without works is dead; therefore, let us not teach faith.) Is this logical? Yes, if the two are inconsistent. If the trained thinker cannot, in the nature of things, write or speak well, and *vice versâ*, we must make our choice. If training the mind to think well cannot go on with training it to the best methods of expression, we are brought to the dilemma—otherwise, not.

It seems to me that the opponents of rhetorical training in our colleges fall into the mistake, or resort to the fallacy, of sliding from rhetoric to declamation, and from declamation to "spouting." Are they convertible terms? They are so used in your article. You say, and justly enough, that fluency, glibness, ease, and assurance on one's feet are common enough in this country, and that "what we need is not more glibness or assurance, . . . but well-ordered brains." True; but what follows? Are we to train the intellects of men who are to be senators, barristers, preachers, and lecturers, and not train their powers of expression? Your article is apropos of Mr. Tracy's reading a manuscript speech to a jury for six days. Why did he do this? I presume it was because while he could think well, reason well, and write satisfactorily, he could not trust himself to extemporaneous utterance. Now, look at Mr. Evarts, who will close the case. He is a clear, strong thinker, with "well-ordered brains," and he can trust himself to extemporaneous utterance, and never writes out a speech. He left Yale College and Harvard Law School the best orator and debater of his day, able to think while he spoke, and speak as he thought and felt. Most of the good and useful speakers, as well as the great orators, have trained themselves in elocution from the earliest, and most assiduously, and especially those in whom the training least appears, whose style is the most pure and simple. There is no rule for great geniuses; but systems of education cannot be based upon such exceptions. And great geniuses do much more of training than the simple suppose. Of our own Massachusetts orators, Ames, Webster, Choate, Channing, Buckminster, Everett, Phillips, Garrison, all were assiduous cultivators of the powers of utterance from boyhood up. (The notion that Webster was not a speaker at college is a mistake. See his 'Private Correspondence,' Vol. I., pp. 46, 50, 52, 53, and 67.) And how has it been with Pitt, Canning, Peel, Gladstone, Lowe, Roundell Palmer, and most Oxford and Cambridge men who have risen to fame—to say nothing of Greeks and Romans—not as declaimers and spouters, but as men who could express thought, will, and emotion by extemporaneous speech before large numbers most effectually?

I agree in your dislike of the intercollegiate rhetorical exhibitions in large, crowded halls in our cities; but, for the reasons so well set forth by Gov. Chamberlain a few numbers back, not because rhetorical training is undesirable.

Perhaps all your article meant to do (although it said much more and otherwise) was to deprecate a growth of declamation at the expense of mental training. But here again what is the remedy? Is it not to encourage mental training to the utmost, and to do the utmost to secure at the same time a rhetorical training which shall deliver us from the vicious habits of this country and generation? Is it a condition, on which alone the well-trained brain can be had, that it shall leave college a mute? Must a man so trained leave college with all the defects of utterance, station, and gesture he brought there from an uncultured home, or with the tricks he took in insensibly from the poor declaimer or uncouth wrangler or wit of the country bar, or village pulpit, or platform; or, quite as bad, with the vicious declamatory style he learned from some tasteless teacher of elocution in a pretentious "institute" or "academy"? It is an ill-considered position, if not a vulgar prejudice, to suppose that training in rhetoric and elocution, whether in writing or speaking, means the increase of fluent, easy writing or fluent, declamatory speaking—in short, that rhetoric means what is called "mere rhetoric," which means either vicious rhetoric, or writing or speaking by men who have too little to say. Rhetoric is the art of enabling men who have something to say to say it to the best advantage. Much of the teaching of rhetoric is the unlearning of bad habits, the rooting out of false notions, and the substitution of the best models for the worst. Do boys come to college free from all habits or predilections as to speech? Certainly not. They have been picking up and adopting bad habits and false notions of elocution from their cradles up. They do not come to college natural, unsophisticated readers and speakers, whose only dangers lie in non-natural, artificial styles which may be taught them there. On the contrary, most of them come to college with styles of reading and speaking as unnatural, as affected, as conventional and traditional, as any of the tricks and habits of the stage; and this is as true of the yeoman or mechanic's son from the country as of the prize declaimer from the city school—indeed, it is more true of the former. There is as much affectation and conventionalism, as far a departure from nature, in the awkward, tobacco-spitting, nasal, popular orator and wit of the country bar or the vociferating revival preacher, who are the models of one class, as in the boys, however unfortunately trained to public speaking, in our higher schools. Both have much to unlearn. So it is with writing. Does the youth come to college without a style, or without tastes or predilections as to style? What shall we say of his daily reading of cheap papers and magazines and novels, and of sensational speeches and lectures?

The truth is, the function of the teacher of rhetoric in our colleges, whether it be in writing or speaking, is not to impose on the student an artificial style, not to promote affectations, traditions, "fluency, spouting, and assurance," but largely to make men unlearn bad tricks, discard bad habits, rectify vicious tastes and notions, and chiefly, in this country, to unmake declaimers and spouters, and to accustom young men to purer models and higher styles of reading, writing, and speaking, where they are but the most natural and effective agents for the transmission of thought and emotion from man to man. It is to enlarge the views and widen the experience of the early follower of the one model. It is, in fine, to restore, as far as can be done, the broken relations between thought and expression, emotion and utterance; to enable the man of brain and affections to put himself into communication with the minds and hearts of other men under the most favorable circumstances.

Your article deprecates oratory before a man has anything to say. At school the boy's training in elocution should be largely voice, in reforming and curing, and strengthening and varying, the functions of utterance, and accustoming the boy to stand on his legs before others in reading aloud, in oral recitations of lessons, and in speaking the thoughts and emotions of others, in prose and verse, which he can understand and feel, though he is too young to originate them. Men enter college now (I speak of Harvard) at the age of nearly nineteen, on the average. Have men from nineteen to twenty-three, educated as well as America can educate, nothing to say? If not, when will they have something to say? Shall their training and practice be put off until they preach their first sermon at twenty-six, or argue their first cause at thirty, or make their first speech in Faneuil Hall? I grant that bad early teaching in elocution, whether declamation or reading, is especially injurious. But it need not be bad at college. Few men left Harvard in Professor Channing's time who have not, in later life, thanked his memory for his teachings, drillings, and criticisms, all tending to bring back to what we call nature in public utterance—that is, to what the best taste shows to be the most fitting and effective, however various, and however much individual qualities and idiosyncrasies are respected and preserved.

R.

Cambridge, March 6, 1875.

["R.'s" synopsis of our argument is hardly correct. The argument is—Oratory without thought is vain; rhetorical training in youth is apt to promote oratory without thought, and make it seem

a good thing. Moreover, this training is not necessary to produce the only things it can produce—fluency and assurance—because they are common enough without it; *ergo*, rhetorical training is undesirable. We never meant to maintain that a young man's powers of expression, any more than his other powers, cannot be improved by training. Defects of pronunciation or intonation can, and of course ought to be corrected in youth, and are hardly corrigible after youth is past. We doubt extremely, however, whether they have ever yet been cured by a professor in college. Purity of accent and clearness of enunciation are almost always the result of assiduous efforts on a man's own part to follow models of speech which are constantly within his hearing—or, in other words, those of the society in which he lives, his own family or his friends and companions—or of unconscious imitation of them. We have heard of the acquisition by girls who had plenty of time for it, more than a young man can ever give, from the steady teaching of a "tone master," but we have never happened to see or hear of a young man who got them from class-room exercises. The ordinary lesson in "elocution" we take to be, in ninety cases out of a hundred, futile. It may now and then help a natural orator to rid himself of glaring tricks of manner, or to improve some of his own methods; but, in so far as it attempts to enable a cold or timid man, who is not a natural orator, to go through an orator's motions, and produce sham fire, and simulate that unconscious action of the brain on the muscles which alone can produce lawful and honest gesticulation, it is simply a deceitful process, of which the only result is "rhetoric" in the narrower, though now ordinary, sense of the term. The cases which "R." cites of American and English orators who were "assiduous cultivators of the powers of utterance from boyhood up," seem to us to strengthen our position. These men were all either natural orators or had such a strong sense of the necessity of rhetorical powers—in order to open to them a field for the display of other and higher powers—that they trained themselves diligently in speaking. We maintain that such men will always do so, and that the best safeguard against the growth of bad rhetoricians and against the elevation of rhetoric into undue prominence, is to be found in leaving this training to the student's own conviction of its necessity to him, in order to complete his equipment. It will thus come as an appendage to thorough culture and really high ambition, and not as a cloak for laziness, windiness, and mediocrity, as it is so often in public life. If ducks were rational and we could train them, we would of course devote ourselves mainly to impressing on them the necessity of laying eggs and getting fat, feeling sure that a right-minded duck would under this teaching certainly take her daily swim, as necessary to her higher development; we should be careful not to preach to her the enormous importance of swimming as an accomplishment, knowing well that she would go to the water naturally in any case, and that good-for-nothing ducks would spend most of their time in it.

This is not really as far-fetched a simile as it may seem at first sight. As we said last week, good delivery has become an inherited trait of the race on this continent. We appeal to everybody who hears much public speaking to say whether bad delivery, or awkward or incorrect language, are not very rare, on the platform, in the pulpit, in Congress, or at the bar. Nearly every American who attempts oratory at all has a good enunciation, produces well-turned sentences, and has a graceful and easy manner. If you frequent the House of Representatives, you will find that the trash which fills so large a space in the *Congressional Record* has been rolled off with a certain finish which almost disguises its quality until you see it in print. In fact, we know of no reason, in one's experience of American forensic life, for supposing that the neglect of rhetoric by school or college produces any bad results. On the contrary, we see many reasons for suspecting, in the absence of precise knowledge on the subject, that it is unduly cultivated, to the neglect of better things. Now if, as we believe, the curriculum of colleges ought to be framed with some reference to the prevailing social or political tendencies of the day, there can be little doubt that the duty of American colleges towards oratory is to encourage orators to seek the things in which they are plainly most wanting, for which the public at large offers fewest premiums, which are hardest to acquire, and which are the basis or root of all oratory. The tendency of the time is, as we all see, to overrate fluency and assurance, to underrate knowledge and mental discipline; and the highest duty of a university is to counteract this tendency, and restore the balance between thought and expression.

We do sincerely deprecate speech-making by boys, although we have nothing to say against the exercises in elocution which "R." recommends; and we do not believe that young men under twenty-one or twenty-two have, in the great majority of cases, anything to say worth saying in public, and we think it a great misfortune for a young man to be led into supposing that he has. During his undergraduate course he is, if a bright fellow, in a fever of enthusiasm over his discoveries of things with which the rest of the world has long been familiar, and is busy filling his memory with ideas and passages which he is not able to digest from authors whom he is not competent to weigh. This is useful work, if it is kept in its proper place. It is not useful, but hurtful, if his seniors encourage him to believe that it is all that is needed to qualify him to instruct the public.

If we may be allowed to close criticism with a suggestion which is the result of much observation, we will say that the most efficient and safest mode of teaching the art of expression, whether oral or written, to immature persons, is simple narration. Nothing is more difficult, from a literary point of view, than clear and correct narrative. The number even of practised writers who are capable of it is small. There can be no better exercise in the choice of words, in the construction of sentences, in memory and arrangement and perspective, than it affords. To require a student to recount a complicated transaction, on his legs or with his pen, without flourish or ornament, putting the facts in their proper order, giving each its due amount of space, and keeping clear of vagueness or cloudiness, is to give him the best sort of rhetorical training, and the only safe sort. It cuts off all temptation to "spouting" and all opportunity of shirking, or of filling in vacant spaces with sound, and represses all false notions of his own powers. The flights of fancy, the ornament, the unearthly wisdom, the long foresight, the burning patriotism, the deep disgust over the degeneracy of the times, had better come later, if they are to come at all, as the result of real feeling and larger experience and of noble ideals.—Ed. Nation.]

Notes.

J. B. LIPPINCOTT & CO. have in press 'Travels in Central India (L'Inde des Rajahs),' by Louis Rousselet, profusely illustrated; and 'English-Gypsy Songs,' in Rommany, with metrical English translations, by Charles G. Leland, Prof. E. H. Palmer, and Janet Tuckey.——The sale is announced in April of a part of the valuable library of Mr. Thomas W. Field, viz.: works relating to the American Indians (described in his 'Essay towards an Indian Bibliography'), and to the American Revolution and War of 1812, and the historical collections of the various societies in the United States. The catalogue is in preparation by J. Sabin & Sons, 84 Nassau Street, who say of the Indian collection that it is by far the largest of the kind ever sold in this or any other country.——The *American Bibliopolist* for February contains a complete and racy exposure, by Mr. Sabin, of the Banvard-Brown "£1,000 book hoax," a matter with which we have not troubled our readers, though it will always deserve a place among the curiosities of advertising. The book ('The Life of a King') has since appeared, and, so far as the editor's part is concerned, bears about the same relation to literature that his panorama did to a Turner landscape. The dedication, however, is not lacking in ingenuity: "To those of my Southern fellow-citizens who once expressed a wish to be governed by a British prince."——The third Statement of the (American) Palestine Exploration Society is devoted to an identification of Mount Pisgah by Prof. John A. Paine, the Society's botanist and archæologist. The discussion is an exceedingly interesting one, and is marked by caution as well as candor. Due credit is given to Saulcy and the Duc de Luynes, while the pretensions, misstatements, and romancing (to give it a mild name) of Dr. H. B. Ti-

tram are unsparingly exposed. The application of the test of the view from Mount Pisgah (Jebel Siâghah) appears to confirm Prof. Paine's identification in every respect. Non-contributors to the funds of the Society will receive an ample return for the fifty cents required to purchase this pamphlet. The financial secretary's office is at 78 East Ninth Street.——The *Geographical Magazine* for January contains a map of tropical South Africa, prompted by the news of Lieut. Cameron's discovery of an outlet to Lake Tanganyika, the River Lukuga. The western goal of this persevering explorer, the Congo coast, is beautifully shown in detail in Petermann's *Mittheilungen* for December 31, 1874, with reference to the hitherto not very successful labors of the German African Expedition; and a side-map shows the entire unexplored field of Central Africa, which this Expedition has appropriated to itself. The three plates of Part 25 of Stieler's Hand-Atlas are (1) a North Polar chart, remarkable also as embracing the whole of the Russian possessions; (2) an admirable map of Europe, physical, political, and statistical, in which the depth of the ocean and of all the internal waters is geographically shaded as well as expressed in fathoms; (3) a map of the East Indies (New York: L. W. Schmidt).

—The eighth edition of the 'Encyclopædia Britannica,' begun in 1852, was completed in 1860. Volume I. of the ninth, edited by Dr. Thomas Spencer Baynes, is now before us (Boston: Little, Brown & Co.) The typographical features of the work are those with which the present generation is familiar, and the usual topics have been chosen for the steel-plate illustrations at the end of the volume. To the end of time, we suppose, Aeronautics, and Agriculture, and Anatomy, and Africa, and America will be thus delineated in the Encyclopædia. With balloon-pictures, indeed, the Encyclopædia is associated in our earliest recollections, and it would not be quite the same thing without them; nor, sentiment apart, do we think that too much importance or interest is ascribed to an art which has thus far been attended with so many costly failures, and so little substantial benefit to mankind. When we add that woodcuts are inserted in the text with tolerable frequency, we need say nothing more of the external appearance of the work. The plan of it as distinguished from that of other encyclopædias is well known. It aims to give a résumé of the present state of knowledge concerning the chief objects of human study and research, and to do this in broad and comprehensive articles rather than in detail; in other words, it is less a dictionary than a collection of treatises—less a work of reference, strictly so-called, than a means of self-education, an instrumentality for private culture. It may be imagined, however, that this line cannot be sharply drawn, and in fact the editor admits that the recent progress of science renders necessary a much greater subdivision than formerly. The treatment of controverted questions which he marks out as proper for the 'Encyclopædia' is critical and historical rather than dogmatic, and he gives evidence of his impartiality in his selection of contributors. He acknowledges his obligations to Huxley and Clerk Maxwell for hints as to the headings under which modern science should be distributed. To the former he entrusts the Animal Kingdom (in Vol. II., Vol. I. ending with Anatomy); to St. George Mivart, the Ape; to E. B. Tylor, Anthropology; to A. R. Wallace, Acclimatization; to Proctor, Astronomy; to Sidney Colvin, Art, etc., etc.

—In biography, the 'Encyclopædia' continues to omit notice of all living celebrities, so that, for instance, one finds neither Ali Pasha nor Alexander II. of Russia; and Abd-el-Kader is admitted only out of deference to the report that he died at Mecca in 1873—Brockhaus makes him still living at Damascus. This department, as well as geography and statistics, is less full in the 'Encyclopædia' than in the 'Conversations-Lexikon,' and the reference to authorities is much more consistently and amply provided in the German than in the English work. Typical of the difference between them are the extended articles, elaborately illustrated also, on Abattoir and Abbey and Abbot, which are wanting or but cursorily treated in Brockhaus; and the article on the cave Adullam. The 'Encyclopædia' speaks of the common humorous allusion to this resort of those in distress, in debt, or discontented, but gives no later example than 'Waverley.' Brockhaus, on the other hand, having in view what is fresh and current, and likely to come up in conversation, adds an article, Adullamites, devoted to an account of Mr. Bright's famous application of the cave in 1866. Abyssinia, Afghanistan, Africa, and America are treated at great length in the 'Encyclopædia.' The last-named will naturally be most critically scrutinized in this country. In the general sketch of the discovery of the continent it is somewhat surprising to meet with no allusion to the origin of the name, nor to Americus Vespucius in a chronological list of the early voyages and settlements. In discussing the aboriginal American languages, the writer gives nearly a page of extracts from Prof. Whitney's 'Language and the Study of Language.' The article on American Literature is written with knowledge and discrimination, and will, we believe, cause no ruffled feelings on this side. It is inspired, too, by the best feeling towards the United States, as this friendly admission may indicate: "Few Americans have ever so misconceived a British statesman as we misconceived Mr. Lincoln, or gone so far astray in regard to any crisis of our history as we did in reference to the moving springs and results of their Civil War." The estimates placed upon Emerson, Lowell, and Hawthorne, among others, are worth reading, and will command respect if not general assent. We notice but one misprint of an American name—*Hilliard* (Geo. S.) for Hillard; and the writer has not been careful to make it understood of English readers that N. P. Willis has been dead some years.

—A correspondent, writing from Baltimore, asks: Is it not likely that Shakspere, in giving that trait of Hotspur's Kate,

> "Indeed, I'll break thy little finger, Harry,
> If thou wilt not tell me true"—
> [*I. K. Henry IV., II. 3*],

had in mind the following passage of Polydore Vergil, referring to the same lady?

"Saeva in familiares, petulans etiam erga maritum, cujus secreta se exquaesituram minitabat, vel *frangendo digitorum ossicula*, si veritatem pandere constantius recusaret" (xxvi. 2).

The old historian seems to think it a rather serious business. It is odd that this has escaped the notice of all the Shakspercan commentators I have access to.

—It does not very often happen that the authorship of an anonymous publication of the fifteenth century comes to light at this late day. It will, therefore, interest bibliographers to learn that an old manuscript note in a black-letter volume of that period, belonging to one of our public libraries, seems to indicate, with tolerable certainty, the author's name, which, so far as can be ascertained, has hitherto remained unknown. Among the early-printed books in the library of the Cornell University is a thin, admirably-preserved folio, possessing the broad margins, the beautiful, jet-black typography, and the rubricated initials so dear to the heart of the ardent bibliophile. It has neither title-page nor colophon; neither date, place, nor printer's name, and consists of forty-two folios, of which the first, thirty-third, and thirty-fourth are blank, the final signature, on the last leaf but two, being E4. Each page is made up of either thirty-six or thirty-seven lines, and the water-mark of the paper is a unicorn. The book is altogether unknown to Panzer, but a tolerably accurate description of it will be found in Hain (No. 6,066), who gives neither the date nor the name of the author, but states that it was printed by Arnold Therhoernen (ter Hoernen), a printer who exercised his craft at Cologne from 1471 to 1483. It is to Arnold ter Hoernen that the introduction into typography of Arabic numerals is ascribed, and they are sufficiently common throughout this volume in the many citations of chapter and verse from the books of the Bible. The title of the book occupies the first line and a half on the second folio or first printed page, and, with the abbreviations written in full, reads as follows: "Declaratio quedam modi et forme venditionis et emptionis reddituum perpetuorum et vitalium." At the end of this title, filling out the line in the text and continuing the sentence, are written these words: "magistri Gherhardi de elten ordinis predicatorum." The handwriting, and the abbreviations used, indicate that this note was written not long subsequent to the publication of the book—certainly not later than the early part of the sixteenth century. This manuscript annotation has not been correctly read by a later possessor of the volume, who has attempted to write it out in the upper margin as follows: "Eximii Magistri Fratris Everhardi de Alten ord. pred Declaratio," etc., mistaking *Gh* in Gherhardi for *Er*, and *e* in Elten for *a*. The author of the volume, therefore, without much doubt, is Gerardus de Elten, or, in the vernacular, Gerhard von Elten, who was probably born at Elten, a small Rhenish town not very far from Cologne. He was a Dominican, and the only work which Panzer ascribes to him is a theologico-legal tract, of a character similar to this one, entitled 'Super receptione puerorum ad religionem'—a dissertation on the lawfulness of admitting boys to a participation in the rites of religion before they have attained the age of puberty. This was also printed by Arnold ter Hoernen at Cologne—a fact which may be taken as corroborative of the statement made in regard to the authorship of the 'Declaratio.' A second and last edition of the 'Declaratio' was printed at Memmingen, Bavaria, in 1494, still without the name of the author. The copy of the first edition which we have here described contains the book-mark of "Georgius Kloss M.D. Francofurti ad Moenam"—who published at Frankfurt in 1811 a surgical work in Latin—and a note on the inside of the cover giving the date of the volume as 1480, which is more than likely to be correct. The only

work in which a notice of Gerhard von Elten is to be found is Quétif's 'Scriptores Ordinis Prædicatorum' (Paris, 1719-21), which is unfortunately a rare book on this side of the ocean, and cannot, therefore, be easily consulted.

—Mr. Seymour Haden, one of the most eminent of the English medical profession, has written to the London *Times* on the present mode of interment, and the proposed substitute of cremation. At the outset he invites a consideration of the following propositions: 1. That the natural destination of all organized bodies that have lived and that die on the earth's surface is the earth. 2. That the evils which the cremationists would have us to believe are inseparable from the principle of interment are independent of that principle, and wholly of our own creation. 3. That the source of these evils is to be found not in the burial of the dead, but in the unreasoning sentiment which prompts us to keep them unburied for as long as possible, and then to bury them in such a way that the earth can have no access to them. 4. That the burial of the body supposes its resolution by the direct agency of the earth to which we commit it; and again, that the earth is fully competent to effect that resolution. 5. That to seek to prevent this beneficent agency by enclosing the dead in hermetically-sealed coffins, brick graves, and vaults is in the highest degree unphilosophical, since it does but engage us in a vain resistance to an inevitable dispensation, and since it has led us to accumulate in the midst of us a vast store of human remains in every stage and condition of decay. 6. That the remedy for such evils is not in cremation, but in a sensible recognition of, and a timely submission to, a well-defined law of nature, and in legislative action to enforce the provisions of that law. Mr. Haden never loses sight of the fact that what under "the influence of the air was putrefaction, in the earth is resolution; that which was offensive becomes inoffensive; that which was decay, a process of transmutation." There are two methods of excluding the air from a dead body—the direct and natural method of placing it in the earth, and the evasive and unnatural method of enclosing it in an air-tight coffin.

—In answer to his own question, "How, then, are we to bury our dead?" Mr. Haden says:

"Clearly, within a reasonable time of their dissolution and in coffins, if we must have coffins, of such construction as will not prevent their resolution. No coffin at all would, of course, be best, or a coffin of the thinnest material, which would not long resist the action of the earth, or a coffin the top and sides of which admitted of removal after the body had been lowered into the grave, or a coffin of some light permeable material, such as wicker-work, open at the top, and filled in with any fragrant herbaceous matters that happened to be in season. A layer of ferns or mosses for a bed, a bundle of sweet herbs for a pillow, and as much as it would still contain after the body had been placed in it of any aromatic or flowering plant for a coverlet—such a covering, in short, as while it protected the body from the immediate pressure of the earth as effectually as the stoutest oak, would yet not prevent its resolution. I can conceive no better form of coffin. Let us emulate the healthy sentiment of those older Jews who considered it an indignity and an injury to be refused prompt burial, and so to be made an offence to the living, and bury it while it is fresh and lovely, and while, if we feel it to be an effort and a sacrifice to part with it, we may also feel that we are making that effort and that sacrifice in the cause of the dead."

Further on it is pointed out that as a body, properly buried, is resolved in five or at most, six years, it follows that, at that interval or at intervals as much longer as we please, we may bury again and again in the same ground, with no other effect than to increase its substance and to raise its surface. Mr. Haden concludes his long and interesting letter by a protest against the wild project "to drive into vapor the bodies of the 1,600 people that die weekly in London alone," and he asks pertinently enough, "What are we to do with the residuum, with this six, eight, or ten pounds of solid matter (the average weight, by the way, of the Egyptian mummy) that the furnace is incapable of driving off?" The letter has caused much excitement and correspondence from high and low, expert and inexpert, and the *Times* was justified in its remark that it is seldom that a question which concerns everybody, and which is beset with prejudices and interests, is so carefully, sensibly, and reverentially treated as it has been by the writer of "Earth to Earth."

—We were at a loss to account for Judge Goodrich's fierce onslaught upon Christopher Columbus, lately noticed in these columns. It is just possible that he had heard of the request made to the Vatican Council to consider the claims of Columbus to beatification. Count Roselly de Lorgues, a biographer and infatuated admirer of the great navigator, is the prime mover in this holy work, and is said to have met with great encouragement at Rome. He has accordingly, while awaiting the reconvocation of the Council, prepared a work called 'L'Ambassadeur de Dieu et le Pape Pie IX.,' which has been described as a complete tractate on the religious and mystic life, the predestined vocation and mission, and the apostolic virtues of Christopher Columbus. Since the apostolic times, he asserts, no one has been greater in the world or in the church than Columbus; and he shows how revelation of the latter's mission was seasonably made to Job, Isaiah, and Malachi. All this must be as fuel to the Protestant flame of Judge Goodrich; but would he not do well to revise some of his epithets in the light of the Comte de Lorgues's Part II.—"a luminous grouping of all the evidence as to the eminent degree attained by the cardinal and divine (*théologales*) virtues of Christopher Columbus"?

—No other French work which has recently fallen under our observation promises so much amusement as the foregoing. The following deserve nevertheless to be mentioned. Mr. Tracy's performance in Brooklyn, as exhibiting a regrettable tendency of the American bar, should lend interest to Théodore Froment's 'Essay on the History of Forensic Eloquence in France before the Seventeenth Century,' and the complementary work by the same author on 'The Eloquence of the Bar in the first half of the Sixteenth Century.' They are valuable also in a biographical point of view. One of the jurists celebrated by M. Froment, the Chancellor Pierre Séguier, has been made the subject of a separate work by René Kerviler, who is an ardent and in some respects a successful apologist of the man to whom French letters as well as French jurisprudence owe much. Another order of talent and discipline is criticised in 'Nos Diplomates et notre Diplomatie' by Louis Lherbette, to which M. Picard furnishes a preface. Prof. Casimir Gaillardin, in the second part (vols. iii. and iv.) of his 'History of the Reign of Louis XIV.,' entitled "The Epoch of Power and Glory under Colbert and Louvois," and Pierre Clément, in his 'History of Colbert and his Administration,' cover similar ground. The latter is a posthumous work, an abstract and popularization of the same author's 'Lettres, Instructions et Mémoires de Colbert'—two volumes replacing nine, of course with the omission of proofs and documents. Teachers of the classics may profitably examine the Abbé Fabre d'Envieu's 'Onomatologie de la Géographie grecque,' which he also calls "the art of learning the Greek dictionary by studying the geography of ancient Greece and its colonies"—a novel plan, which would seem not without its advantages; 'Aldus Manutius and Hellenism at Venice;' Jean Aicard's 'The Venus of Milo,' being researches on the discovery of this statue based on inedited documents; and, when it appears in print, M. Dezeimeris's dissertation on the author of the *Querolus* of Plautus, a play which he attributes to one Axius Paulus, an Aquitanian, known as the author of a comedy called *Delirus*, the copyists being held responsible for the change of name to Accius Plautus. Long purses may be recommended to subscribe to 'La Musée Fol,' published by the city of Geneva in illustration of its museum of that name—a rich and choice collection of antiquities, and art-objects of the Renaissance. The volume already issued is a folio of 87 pages of text, with 32 plates and 29 vignettes, and is occupied with antique terracottas, the essay on this subject being by M. Fol himself. Finally, let us mention here the proposed printing in 10 quarto volumes of La Curne de Sainte-Palaye's 'Glossary of the French Language from its Origin to the Time of Louis XIV.'

—M. Auguste Brachet, so favorably known by his 'Grammaire historique de la langue française' and 'Dictionnaire étymologique,' both of which have been translated into English, has just rendered his native tongue another service in a work intended to illustrate the language and literature of the sixteenth century. It is entitled 'Morceaux choisis des grands écrivains du XVI^e^ siècle, accompagnés d'une Grammaire et d'un Dictionnaire de la langue du XVI^e^ siècle' (12mo; Paris: Hachette et Cie.) We suppose M. Brachet intends to lead his countrymen gradually back to the first period of their literary glory, the marvellous thirteenth century. From that the transition to the Chanson de Roland would be easy enough. It is strange that the French, who in national matters pass for a vain people, should so long have neglected their early literature, which has found its most zealous students in Germany. This neglect, however, is in a fair way of being repaired by the efforts of such men as Brachet, Meyer, Paris, and others; and we are glad to learn that the interest excited by their labors has led to the formation of an Early French Text Society, which, from the list of works promised, seems to embrace Provençal as well as Old French. Among these works are: Aiol, 'La Bataille de Roncevaux' (the modernized version of the Chanson de Roland); Tristan, the works of Crestien de Troies and Marie de France (already frequently printed in Germany and France); 'Le Roman de Berinus'; 'Le Roman des Sept Sages' (published by the Stuttgart Litterarischer Verein) in Provençal and French, the former version, which is as yet inedited, and not known to Provençal scholars, being likely to prove only a translation from the Old French; 'Girart de Roussillon' (this poem, it is well to bear in mind, has nothing to do with the celebrated Provençal epic

of the same name); the chansons of Thibaut, King of Navarre, collections of farces, and mysteries, etc. The annual subscription is 25 francs, or life-membership 250 francs; an entrance fee of 10 francs will be charged to all members after the first 300.

—Of the volumes of papers presented to the first International Congress of Orientalists, held in Paris in 1873, the first is recently published, and in process of distribution to the members; for the second, additional funds are needed, and Mr. Van Name, Librarian of Yale College, is authorized to receive a certain number of new subscriptions at the original amount, twelve francs, entitling the subscriber to the publications of the Congress. For the second meeting, at London, last September, Messrs. Trübner & Co. may be said to have already published its transactions in an extra number (3s. 6d.) of his *American and Oriental Record*. It is a pamphlet of only about sixty pages, but these are of immense size, and in part of very close print, double-columned, so that the amount of material included is far beyond what would be believed possible. We have all the presidents' and chairmen's addresses in full; a large number of papers unabridged, besides others in briefer or longer abstract, and the more important of the oral remarks and discussions; with a parcel of miscellaneous matter relating to the meeting, the organization, the entertainments, and the like—in short, an account of the whole affair. The addresses especially are in good part popular *résumés* in different branches of Oriental study, and of an interest quite as much popular as scholarly.

—The compilation of a dictionary of living authors and their literary offspring is apt to be a thankless task. Users of such books are not particularly appreciative of the patient drudgery and wearisome searching entombed in them. The moral courage requisite to the undertaking must be considerable. Somebody is sure to die just in time to render the fresh tale of the types incomplete, and some omission of importance is highly probable. We were led to these reflections on examining a new book of this kind. A Saxon clergyman (Dr. Wm. Haan) has published a 'Sächsisches Schriftsteller-Lexicon' (Leipzig: Schaefer. 8vo, pp. 391. 3 Thl.), containing short biographical sketches of the "learned authors and artists now living in Saxony," together with lists of their works. Dr. Haan adopts the very desirable plan of admitting magazine articles as well as books. The result is that the volume decidedly increases our respect for Saxon literary activity, at least in its quantitative aspect. The omissions of the book are curious and glaring. One would suppose that the very considerable concentration of the literary life of this little kingdom in two or three neighborhoods would ensure completeness in the compilation. Above all, a fair representation of the labors of the Leipzig University professors was certainly to be expected. We have looked in vain for such well-known names as Credé, Hankel, His, Ludwig, Reclam, G. Wiedemann, Wunderlich, and Zirkel. Ahren's death is not mentioned, though he died at least three months before the very apologetic preface was written. Of Kolbe's continuation of Erdmann's chemical *Journal*, and of Roscher's new history of political economy, the compiler seems quite ignorant. We may have been very unlucky (one looks naturally for familiar names), and these omissions may seem very slight to the theological mind, but they happen to include perhaps the first microscopical geologist, a very noted physiologist, a distinguished professor of clinical medicine (and writer upon thermometry), and the authors of important works or papers on physics, midwifery, and embryology. In fact, the only portion of the book we feel quite sure about consists of the three pages which enumerate the works of the editor himself. From this we learn that he has already displayed considerable compilatory activity—a fact which renders the failures of the present book the less excusable.

LIVINGSTONE'S LAST JOURNALS.*

IF this large volume is a very interesting book, it is so in spite of a great many drawbacks. It is an enormous mass of raw material, which the author alone could have put into coherent and presentable form. But the author died at his work, in the African forests; and, under the circumstances, it is matter of surprise and gratitude that the record of his labors, imperfect as it is, should have survived him and found its way back to civilization. His African servants, with an admirable instinct of what might be desired of them, preserved every line of his diaries and memoranda, and brought them, with his remains, through an almost heroic journey, back to his starting-point at Zanzibar. His ashes were conveyed to solemn interment in Westminster Abbey, and his journals, on their side, have been buried, as one may almost call it, in this ponderous volume. The editor's work has been simply to decipher and transcribe; selection, arrangement, elucidation, have been left out of the question. The mere task of making out the MS. was often a formidable one; for, in the absence of available writing material, Dr. Livingstone was at times reduced to the most awkward devices—such as scrawling with extemporized ink on old scraps of English newspapers. A fac-simile of a page of this portion of the journal is given by Mr. Waller, with the result of producing an almost equal admiration for the energy which produced and the energy which deciphered it. But it is a question whether the editor might not with advantage have understood his duties in a rather larger way. The advantage would have been greatly that of the general reader if the matter had, in the common phrase, been "boiled down" to half its present bulk. As the work stands, it bears no small analogy to the pathless forest, intersected with large districts of "sponge," through which Livingstone himself had often to pursue his own uncertain way. What has dictated the course actually adopted—that of simply stringing together and printing *verbatim* every line of the material—has been an extreme veneration for the writer's memory. This will be shared by all readers, and certainly a real admirer of Livingstone will be willing to take some little trouble in order to keep pace with him. It may be said, however, that some omissions Mr. Waller might very safely have made. The journal is largely interspersed with religious reflections and ejaculations intended solely for Dr. Livingstone's own use. They are interesting to students of character, for they help to explain the sources of the great explorer's indomitable resolution and patience. He was an ardently sincere missionary, and he believed that he was doing his work with the eye of God constantly upon him. But it seems a rather cruel violation of privacy to shovel these sacred sentences, written in the intensest solitude, into the capacious lap of the public, in common with all sorts of baser matter—including the rather sensational and not particularly valuable illustrations with which the volume is adorned. It is as interesting as it ever was to be admitted behind the scenes of a man's personality, but it is more important than it ever was that the privilege should not be offered to all the world, but reserved for the few who can present a certain definite claim to initiation.

This volume covers a period of something more than seven years. Dr. Livingstone left Zanzibar, on the east African coast, in the month of March, 1866, and he succumbed to exposure and exhaustion on the borders of the great Lake Bangweolo, which he himself had discovered, on the last of April, 1873. He had intended this expedition to be his last, and his hope, shortly before his death, was to finish his work and return home in a year or two more. His work was to establish certain geographical facts which he had left in uncertainty, notably of course the real nature of the sources of the Nile, and to do what missionary work he might in the way of humanizing the natives and mitigating, if he was powerless to arrest, the abominations of the slave-trade. This he regarded as his solemn duty, although evidently it was a duty in the performance of which he took an immense satisfaction. He made sacrifices, he suffered hardship, he performed heroic feats; but the life he found in Africa had become with him a personal passion, and we doubt whether his strong sense of duty would have been capable of making the great sacrifice of remaining quietly in England in the lap of civilization. Incidentally he had such a project as this: "One of my waking dreams is that the legendary tales about Moses coming up into inner Ethiopia with Merr, his foster-mother, and founding a city, which he called in her honor Meroe, may have a substratum of fact. . . . I dream of discovering some monumental relics of Meroe, and, if anything does remain, I pray to be guided thereto. If the sacred chronology would thereby be confirmed, I would not grudge the toil and hardship, hunger and pains, I have endured—the irritable ulcers would only be discipline." Elsewhere he says: "An eager desire to discover any evidence of the great Moses having visited these parts spell-bound me; for if I could bring to light anything to confirm the Sacred Oracles, I would not grudge one whit all the labor expended." During this long period he was wandering hither and thither over an immense region, exploring the basin of the great Lualaba and Chambeze Rivers, and the three great lakes—Nyassa, Bangweolo, and Tanganyika—marching for weeks together through forest and jungle, and living for months in African villages on the same hard allowance as the natives; observing everything, noting everything, suffering everything that exposure and a diet but one degree removed from starvation could subject him to. It seems to the reader a dog's life; but Livingstone had a genius for it, and he broke down only under a terrible accumulation of hardship. The details of his journeyings we have not space to set forth; they imply a constant reference to the very excellent and detailed map which accompanies the work, and a somewhat intimate acquaintance with Living-

* 'The Last Journals of David Livingstone in Central Africa, from 1865 to his Death. Continued by a Narrative of his Last Moments and Sufferings, etc. By Horace Waller, F.R.G.S.' New York: Harper & Brothers. 1875.

stone's previous explorations and those of the other great African travellers —Speke, Grant, Burton, and Baker. The geography of Central Africa has become a department of science by itself, into which, apparently, one must venture only if armed to the teeth, and grasping the standard of some particular theory. The general reader will here find entertainment enough independent of the doctrinal side of the matter.

Dr. Livingstone started with eight attendants, some Asiatics (he had come from Bombay, where he had been making a long visit, and found important furtherance in his schemes), some Africans, and all, save two or three, capricious and untrustworthy. But he prefers his negroes to his Indian Sepoys, and throughout judges the Africans very leniently and hopefully. If he knew them less well, and had not paid so hard for his knowledge, one would be tempted to say that his estimate of them was rather tainted with "sentimentalism." It is very different, for instance, from that of Sir Samuel Baker, in his lately-published 'Ismailïa,' whose evident feeling on the subject is such that there was something almost ludicrously anomalous in the humanitary nature of his expedition. In the second year of his journey, Dr. Livingstone's charity was sorely tested by the desertion of two of his servants, who carried with them, among other precious articles, his only store of medicines. To be without quinine, amid the African malaria, was to stand at a fatal disadvantage. It was only in 1871 that Stanley overtook him, and he was during this long interval fighting, unassisted, a harsh battle with the symptoms which carried him off a year and a half later. In the summer of 1869 he made his way for the first time into the Manyuema country—a region differing in many of its characteristics from those he had hitherto explored. Here he spent more than two years. "It is all," he says, "surpassingly beautiful. Palms crown the highest heights of the mountains, and their gracefully bended fronds wave beautifully in the wind; and the forests, usually about five miles broad, between groups of villages, are indescribable; climbers of cable size, in great numbers, are hung among the gigantic trees; many unknown wild fruits abound, some the size of a child's head, and strange birds and monkeys are everywhere. The soil is excessively rich, and the people, though isolated by old feuds that are never settled, cultivate largely." This paradise is now given over in great measure to the Arab slavers and ivory-traders from the station at Ujiji, on Lake Tanganyika—a gentry who, if they carry commerce in one hand, carry plunder and murder in the other. To the abominations of slavery in this and in other regions, Dr. Livingstone alludes frequently and in terms of deep disgust; they haunt him, he declares, by day and by night; they are the "open sore" of the land, crying aloud to heaven to be healed. He speaks of seeing among the enslaved Manyuema a strange disease, which seemed to be literal broken-heartedness. They drooped and pined, but complained of nothing but a pain which they indicated by laying their hands on their hearts—the position they themselves attribute to the heart being higher up. They were not visibly ill, but very soon they succumbed to this pain and died. Here, also, Dr. Livingstone observed the soko, a large monkey, with much analogy with the gorilla, but of a more amiable disposition. The soko, from Dr. Livingstone's account, seems painfully human.

At Ujiji, to which place he made his way back laboriously, in a state of great destitution and exhaustion, he met Mr. Stanley. This episode figures very briefly in his journals, though it was evidently a very welcome one. Naturally, it completely re-equipped him, and the reader really feels a kind of personal relief when he perceives that the exhausted old man obtained some more quinine. Mr. Stanley was with him for upwards of five months, and when Stanley returned to the coast, after having vainly urged him to do likewise, he started to make his way back to Lake Bangweolo. It is not unkind to say that this was the very fanaticism of enterprise, and the interest of the book, from this point to the close, is of a very painful nature. Dr. Livingstone enters a region of apparently eternal rain, and lives in a drenched condition for the following year and a half. His health fails rapidly; he makes great marches in spite of it, and only gives up the attempt to advance when his hand is too weak to trace the entries in his diary. The story of his death is compiled very successfully from the statements of those two faithful servants who made their weary pilgrimage back to Zanzibar with his remains. They found him on his knees in the attitude of prayer, beside his bed, with life extinct. This was extremely characteristic. Half the interest of this volume will be found in the reflection it offers of his devotion (when we feel we have a right to observe it), his candor, his singleness of purpose and simplicity. The combination of these qualities, with his unshrinking pluck, his extraordinary endurance, his faculty of universal observation, and of what we may call geographical constructiveness, made him of all great travellers one of the very greatest.

RECORDS OF THE PAST—ASSYRIA AND EGYPT.*

THESE little volumes are the first of a series intended to make the results of recent study and interpretation of Egyptian and Assyrian monuments and records accessible to the general public. Hitherto these results have been so scattered through journals in many languages, and in the transactions of learned societies of various countries, that only scholars, particularly interested in this field of enquiry, have been likely to be well informed as to the progress of decipherment of hieroglyphic or cuneiform texts, or as to the contents of those newly interpreted. These volumes, therefore, answer to a definite need; some of the best scholars in this department of knowledge contribute to them, and they are edited by Dr. Samuel Birch, the distinguished Egyptologist. He is responsible for the general arrangement of the materials, and his reputation is a guarantee for the accuracy and thoroughness of the work. The contents of the two volumes already issued (a third is just about to appear) are miscellaneous and of various importance and interest, but they are well chosen to illustrate the wide range of time and of subjects covered by the texts already interpreted. But it were greatly to be wished that Dr. Birch had not confined his editorial functions within such narrow limits as he has chosen to establish for himself. "In order," he says, "to render the volume[s] as popular as possible, and make the information afforded as simple as it can be given, the translations are only accompanied by such notes as are absolutely required to explain intelligibly a few of the more obscure passages." But to make the volumes truly popular and most serviceable to all but the special scholar, a different sort of editing is required. The critical and explanatory apparatus accompanying the texts is not only meagre, but is positively insufficient for a full appreciation of their historic and literary importance. Even a good classical scholar and a well-informed student of history would find more information than is given here convenient, while the mere general reader would find it indispensable.

The grounds for adopting a course of such reserve are, probably, in reality, prudential. The Society of Biblical Archæology, of which Dr. Birch is president, does not wish to stir 'burning' questions. But it is no service to the Bible to make the progress of knowledge difficult; and it is no help to learning to shrink from controversy on doubtful and open matters of critical investigation and interpretation. Controversy may be disagreeable, but it is unavoidable. The Bible must take care of and defend itself against the revelations of hieroglyphs and arrowheads, as it has had to defend itself against the discoveries of geology and the researches of physiology. In future volumes it may be hoped that an attempt at least will be made to give some chronology (however rough or hypothetical) of the different documents printed, some references to the history with which they connect themselves, and some explanations of the allusions made, and the incidents referred to in them. Thus only can the volumes be made "popular."

The main contents of both volumes have greater historical and archæological than literary interest. We have, indeed, long since learned to look for but scanty contributions from either Egypt or Assyria to speculative or imaginative literature. There was little activity of thought among the people of either land. Through the vast period of Egyptian civilization, generation succeeds generation with slight increase of curiosity, with slow development of mental faculty, occupied with interests similar to those of their predecessors, and content with the same forms of expression. The hereditary, fixed conditions of society hindered that independence of the individual of which progress in reasoning and activity of imagination are the result. Literary effort and expression are the sign and proof of a higher stage of personal and social development than either Egypt or Assyria attained. Their people remained occupied throughout the whole period of their greatness with the external conditions of life, and with mere objective matters of thought. The "wisdom of the Egyptians" was not a deep philosophy, but a mingling of childish speculation with the accumulation of knowledge, the invention and the experience of thousands of years of uninterrupted tradition and transmission. Such expression as they required for their sentiments, emotions, and faith, they found in the practical arts of architecture, sculpture, and painting, and even in these there is no progress from step to step of wider or more complete expression of the inner nature. The arts remain external, subjected to rule, uninspired by the effort to express passion or character. The bas-relief is sculptured narrative, the picture is painted description of incident; very seldom of emotion, never of a complex, realized, mental ideal. These forms of expression were, for

* 'Records of the Past: being English Translations of the Assyrian and Egyptian Monuments. Published under the Sanction of the Society of Biblical Archæology.' Vol. I. Assyrian Texts. Vol. II. Egyptian Texts. London: Samuel Bagster & Sons. 1874. Sm. 8vo, pp. iv. 176; pp. x. 176.

the most part, sufficient for the people. Neither in Egypt nor Assyria did the age of poetry arrive. The greater part of the written or inscribed monuments of both peoples consist mainly of records, in various forms, of public events or private affairs; of inscriptions in honor of kings, or hymns and invocations to the gods, or rituals of worship, or calendars and other similar astronomical documents. A few brief pieces of literature proper, showing a mingling of traditional and individual elements, have indeed been preserved.

In the volume before us of translations from Egyptian sources, there are two tales drawn from papyri in the British Museum, one of 'The Two Brothers,' the other of 'The Doomed Prince,' which are of special interest, not merely as indications of Egyptian genius and taste, but as containing —though written perhaps fifteen hundred or two thousand years before our era—resemblances of incident so close to tales familiar through Europe, from Scandinavia to Italy, as to point to an origin still more remote in the dim ages before distinct history begins. And in the Assyrian volume, the piece of most interest is that called 'The Legend of the Desert of Ishtar,' in which we find the earliest known form of a legend universally spread through Asia and Europe, under a hundred different forms and with various meanings, of the descent to Hades or to hell of some divine or human personage. The legend in its Assyrian form, as translated by Mr. Fox Talbot from a tablet in the British Museum, is of such general interest, and is so much the most poetic of the remains of Assyrian antiquity that have yet been disclosed to us, that we make room for a considerable part of it. Ishtar was the goddess of love. The object of her descent into the infernal regions "was probably," says Mr. Talbot, "narrated in another tablet which has not been preserved. I conjecture that she was in search of her beloved Thammuz-Adonis, who was detained in Hades by Persephone." But the object of her descent is of little consequence, so far as the value of the narrative that exists is concerned. Enough remains to illustrate the imaginative spirit of the Assyrians, and to connect us with them by a closer link than any formed out of the sculptured stones and alabaster bas-reliefs of their long-buried palaces.

"To the land of Hades, the region of . . .
Ishtar, daughter of the Moon-god San, turned her mind,
and the daughter of San fixed her mind [to go there]:
to the House of Eternity, the dwelling of the god Irkalla:
to the House men enter—but cannot depart from:
to the Road men go—but cannot return.
The abode of darkness and famine
where Earth is their food: their nourishment Clay:
light is not seen: in darkness they dwell:
ghosts, like birds, flutter their wings there:
on the door and gate-posts the dust lies undisturbed.
When Ishtar arrived at the gate of Hades
to the keeper of the gate a word she spoke:
'O keeper of the entrance! open thy gate!
Open thy gate! again, that I may enter!
If thou openest not thy gate, and I enter not,
I will assault the door: I will break down the gate:
I will attack the entrance; I will split open the portals;
I will raise the dead to be the devourers of the living!
Upon the living the dead shall prey!'*
Then the Porter opened his mouth and spoke,
and said to the great Ishtar:
'Stay, Lady! do not shake down the door!
I will go, and tell this to the Queen Nin-ki-gal.'†
The Porter entered, and said to Nin-ki-gal:
'These curses thy sister Ishtar [utters],‡
blaspheming thee with great curses . . .'
When Nin-ki-gal heard this . . .
she grew pale, like a flower that is cut off:
she trembled, like the stem of a reed.
'I will cure her rage,' she said: 'I will cure her fury:
these curses I will repay to her!
Light up consuming flames! light up blazing straw!
Let her doom be with the husbands who deserted their wives!
Let her doom be with the wives who from their husbands' side departed!
Let her doom be with the youths who led dishonored lives!
Go, Porter, open the gate for her,
but strip her, like others at other times.
The Porter went and opened the gate.
'Enter, Lady of Tiggaba City!‖ It is permitted!
May the Sovereign of Hades rejoice at thy presence!'¶
The first gate admitted her, and stopped her: there was taken off the great crown from her head.
'Keeper! do not take off from me the great crown from my head!'
'Excuse it, Lady! for the Queen of the land commands its removal.'
The second gate admitted her, and stopped her: there were taken off the earrings of her ears.
'Keeper! do not take off from me the earrings of my ears!'
'Excuse it, Lady! for the Queen of the land commands their removal!'
The third gate admitted her, and stopped her: there were taken off the precious stones from her head.
'Keeper! do not take off from me the precious stones from my head!'
'Excuse it, Lady! for the Queen of the land commands their removal!'
The fourth gate admitted her, and stopped her: there were taken off the small lovely gems from her forehead.
'Keeper! do not take off from me the small lovely gems from my forehead!'
'Excuse it, Lady! for the Queen of the land commands their removal!'
The fifth gate admitted her, and stopped her: there were taken off the central girdle of her waist.
'Keeper! do not take off from me the central girdle from my waist!'
'Excuse it, Lady! for the Queen of the land commands its removal.'
The sixth gate admitted her, and stopped her: there were taken off the golden rings of her hands and feet.
'Keeper! do not take off from me the golden rings of my hands and feet!'
'Excuse it, Lady! for the Queen of the land commands their removal!'
The seventh gate admitted her, and stopped her: there was taken off the last garment from her body.
'Keeper! do not take off from me the last garment from my body!'
'Excuse it, Lady! for the Queen of the land commands its removal!'
After that mother Ishtar had descended into Ha[illegible]s
Nin-ki-gal saw her, and stormed on meeting her.
Ishtar lost her reason, and heaped curses upon her.
Nin-ki-gal opened her mouth and spoke,
to Namtar her messenger a command she gave:
'Go, Namtar! [some words lost.]
Bring her out for punishment. . . .'"

The end of this last line is mutilated, and the remaining lines of the first column are imperfect. But we learn from them, and from the second column of the tablet, that Namtar was commanded to afflict Ishtar with dire diseases and torments. The story goes on to relate how, after the goddess of love had been shut up in Hades, the world began to miss and mourn her. The assembly of the gods was summoned, and the sun, weeping, complained of her departure. Then the god Hea laid a plan, and formed the figure of a man of clay, and bade the phantom go to save her, and awe Nin-ki-gal with the names of the great gods. The phantom was successful in his errand, and Nin-ki-gal dismissed the goddess, and the gates, as she passed through them, restored to her her garments and her ornaments.

It is vain to seek for a complete elucidation of the allegory of this ancient poem. But it is better to leave it as a mere story, a work of the imagination, than to distort it into a solar myth, or pervert it into an ethical narrative. We commend these volumes to all classical students, and lovers of the early records of our race.

* This very violent language is evidently introduced by the writer of this legend in order to justify the subsequent wrath of Proserpine.

† Nin-ki-gal answers to the Proserpine of the Latins. Her name means 'goddess of the great region'—*i.e.*, Hades.

‡ The end of this and several following lines is broken off, which makes the translation uncertain.

‖ A principal seat of Ishtar's worship.

¶ These words are evidently ironical.

THE STUDY OF CHRISTIAN CLASSICS.*

WHILE fashionable educators are devising methods for the apotheosis of mediocrity, incapacity, and indolence, Lafayette College is preparing text-books for the study of the Fathers of the Church! Our readers, however, may be reminded that the study of the early Christian writers was introduced into Harvard more than twelve years ago. Still, it must be confessed that Lafayette, in this respect, is in advance of any other literary institution in the country, inasmuch as the endowment by Benjamin Douglass for the study of the Fathers enables it to employ two professors of "Christian Greek and Latin" (an odd expression, by the way). We only hope that these professors of Christian Greek and Latin are not paid on starvation principles, so familiar to college instructors. "For many centuries," says the notice preceding the title-page of the volume before us, "and down to what is called the Pagan renaissance, they [the writings of the early Christians] were the common linguistic studies of the educated Christians." If by "the Pagan renaissance" the author means "the Reformation," the statement may be said to be essentially correct: for not long after that epoch the Fathers (absurdly regarded as a college of Egyptian priests) began to be attacked by Protestant scholars because they were believed to favor Rome, and because they did not confirm the peculiar doctrines of the Reformers. If Augustine was occasionally well spoken of, it was chiefly because he was thought to agree with Luther and Calvin. "It would seem," says Dr. March, in the preface, "that the study of them [the events] in the admirable language in which they were originally recorded, might help to make our college graduates not only learned in the Greek language, but stout-hearted men, ready to work and suffer for the truth." Nevertheless, the Greek language must be learned from its early authors. The most eminent of the Greek Fathers owed their mental discipline to those authors. "Origen," says Porphyrius, "being a Greek [in religion] and having had a Greek education, adopted a barbaric religion [Christianity] and prostituted his learning to the defence of that religion. He lived like a Christian, but philosophized like a Greek, subjecting the sound teachings of philosophy to foreign myths. His constant companions were Plato, Numenius, Cronius, Apollophanes, and the most distinguished Pythagorean writers." Porphyrius, it must be remembered, was one of the bitterest and ablest opponents Christianity ever had. The inventor of the anecdote that John Chrysostom was in the habit of reading the plays of Aristophanes, evidently believed that popular preaching was intimately connected with comedy.

* 'The Ecclesiastical History of Eusebius. The First Book and Selections. Edited for Schools and Colleges by F. A. March, LL.D. With an Introduction by A. Ballard, D D., Professor of Christian Greek and Latin in Lafayette College; and Explanatory Notes by W. B. Owen, A.M., Adjunct Professor of Christian Greek.' New York: Harper & Brothers.

'Latin Hymns with English Notes, for Use in Schools and Colleges. By F. A. March, LL.D., Professor of Comparative Philology in Lafayette College.' New York: Harper & Brothers. 1874.

The first book of the Ecclesiastical History of Eusebius, followed by selections from some of the other books, forms the second volume of the "Douglass Series." That Eusebius was one of the most prominent ecclesiastics of the first half of the fourth century is proved by the complimentary expression, *the rascally Eusebius*, used by Julian; and it must be kept in mind that this emperor bestowed such titles only upon persons of much merit; thus, he applies the epithet *knave* to John the Evangelist and speaks of Paul the Apostle as the *greatest impostor on record*. The faults of Eusebius as a historian are those of omission rather than of commission. His theory seems to be that narratives prejudicial to morality should be suppressed. This is considered a serious error by the curious. Had Eusebius enlivened his history of the church with relishing allusions to the adventures of Agrippina, Messalina, Faustina, and Fausta, it is not absurd to suppose that advanced theologians might be tempted to learn Greek. Our author's 'History,' then, would rival the 'Historia Arcana,' the most interesting portions of which—namely, the performances of the Empress Theodora and the geese—were actually committed to memory (in Greek, of course) and repeated in conversation by an English prelate of the last century.

The text is remarkably free from typographical errors. The notes are intended for students imperfectly acquainted with the grammatical forms and syntax of the language. In a second edition, these notes must be thoroughly revised.

Whether the 'Latin Hymns' can be profitably used in college may be doubted. For our own part, we cannot go as far as the editor of this work: "For inspiring and elevating thought," he says in the preface, "and for vigor, harmony, and simplicity of language, the 'Hymns' are better than any Augustan odes." The thought of the 'Latin Hymns' is indeed often inspiring and elevating. But it is of the modern flavor; we miss in them that total change of atmosphere which throws a new zest into life; that contrast of men and manners which is needed if the mind is to be rid of narrow prejudice and onesidedness. As to the other point—the language—men who felt themselves half-inspired might well express themselves with vigor and simplicity. But the vehicle in which the ideas are conveyed is an artificial and conventional one. The words are Latin—most of them. When the Portuguese author of the 'Guide to English Conversation' asks and answers: "Do you understand French language? She do know me," the words are all pure English, but the sentence is not English. So in the 'Latin Hymns,' though the words are Latin, the combination of words is not Latin. In fact, from the rigid classical point of view, it would be scarcely an exaggeration to call it a kind of pigeon-Latin; not very much more like Latin than pigeon-English is like English, than cigar-box Spanish is like Castilian.

But while we do not consider these hymns suited for the purposes of what a German would call *formale Bildung*, they are an indispensable part of education; only, instead of confining them to the narrow college world, we should be glad to see them in the hands of all mature men and women of education. Their very modern tone—"so much like English"—with its motley jingle of rhyme, assonance, and accentuation, makes them easy reading for imperfect Latin scholars. Even as mere bits of history they are curious. But especially are they of value as a check on the rank sentimentalism and prettinesses of our modern hymns or "human compositions," as they are called by some theologians.

This collection begins with Hilary, and contains the seven great hymns and most of the familiar ones, one hundred and fifty-one in all: "Veni Creator Spiritus," "Dies Irae," "Stabat Mater," "Cantemus cuncti melodum," etc. The last two hymns in the book are Luther's "Feste Burg," translated by Buttmann, and the "Rock of Ages," by Mr. Gladstone. In the Latin heading of the latter, by the way, there is a slight oversight: "Augustus M. Toplady et W. E. Gladstone." Is not Mr. Gladstone's first name Gulielmus? There is no accounting for tastes, but to our mind the introduction of these two hymns, and particularly of the latter, mars the general effect. Not but what it is always interesting to see difficulty surmounted by ingenuity. The box made of 11,824 pieces of wood by a convict is interesting; it is interesting to see Miss Anna Leake, the no-armed lady, deftly embroidering with her toes; and it is interesting to see Mr. Gladstone (if he has no better way of spending his time) overcoming imperfectly the difficulties of Latin rhyme. But the interest of a real Latin hymn is of a wholly different kind. It must be old, it must be a *vox clamantis in deserto*, as it were the outpourings of one clothed with camel's hair and with a girdle of a skin about his loins. Shift the time and the scenery and bring it down to a concrete live Englishman, who rings for his boots and his shaving-water, the spell vanishes, the imagination refuses to work, and we cry out with the theologians aforesaid: "Enough! This is a 'human composition.'"

We notice in this volume more misprints in the text: Page 204, line 20 and 25, *Illiue;* p. 56, line 10, *juvat;* p. 20, line 8, *canditatus;* p. 101, line 19, *fumas;* p. 32, line 18, *moeror;* line 23, *oeyus;* p. 57, line 11, *Oeculive*. On the same page, line 25, we are in doubt whether *quaerelis* is intentional or not. Barbarisms quite as bad are certainly found in the Pompeian *graffiti*, for instance, *laesaerit* for *laesĕrit*, *maeae* for *mˇae*, *haberae* for *haberĕ*, etc., not to speak of Schuchardt's unrefreshing lists. But we had not supposed that anybody would now say *coena*, *coelum*, or *coelestis*.

Fine Arts.

NOTES ON THE THEATRES.

IF one held the belief that there is any very intimate relation between the stage, as it stands in this country, and the general cause of American civilization, it would be more than our privilege, it would be our duty, as vigilant observers, to keep an attentive eye upon the theatres. For in New York, at least, these establishments have rarely been more active than during the past few weeks, and the moment would be highly opportune for drawing from the national diversions a critic's moral as to the national state of mind. In fact, however, we suspect that moralizing too rigidly here is a waste of ingenuity, inasmuch as the diversions in question are not especially national. New York possesses half-a-dozen theatres of the so-called first class, in addition to a host of play-houses of the baser sort, whose performances are dramatic only by that extension of the term under which the romances in the Sunday papers may be spoken of as literary. These theatres are all, for the time, working at high pressure. Each has brought forward its *pièce de résistance*. The trumpets are blown and the public is convoked. The public assembles in varying numbers—on the whole, it seems to us, in very goodly ones. The public evidently likes playgoing, and is willing to pay for it—to pay a good deal, and to pay often. But except at the Fifth Avenue Theatre, it does not go with the expectation of seeing the mirror held up to nature as it knows nature—of seeing a reflection of its actual, local, immediate physiognomy. The mirror, as the theatres show it, has the image already stamped upon it—an Irish image, a French image, an English image. The French and English images indeed are multiplied, and an Italian image, we perceive, looms above the horizon. The images may be true to an original or not; the public doesn't care. It has gone to look and listen, to laugh and cry—not to think. This is so true that we fancy it must have resented even the very slight intellectual effort necessary for finding "Women of the Day" at the Fifth Avenue as preposterous an attempt to portray as it was a dreary attempt to entertain. Nevertheless, if the theatre with us *is* a superficial institution, it shares the peculiarity with other social phenomena, and the observer may commit as great a fault in taking it too easily as in taking it too hard.

Our drama seems fated, when it repairs to foreign parts for its types, to seek them first of all in the land of brogue and "bulls." A cynic might say that it is our privilege to see Irish types enough in the sacred glow of our domestic hearths, and that it is therefore rather cruel to condemn us to find them so inveterately in that consoling glamour of the footlights. But it is true that an Irish drama is always agreeably exciting; whether on account of an inherent property in the material, or because it is generally written by Mr. Boucicault, we are unable to say. "The Shaughraun" will, we suppose, have been the theatrical event of the season; and if a play was to run for four or five months there might have been a much worse one for the purpose than this. There is no particular writing in it, but there is an infinite amount of acting, of scene-shifting, and of liveliness generally; and all this goes on to the tune of the finest feelings possible. Love, devotion, self-sacrifice, humble but heroic bravery, and brimming Irish *bonhomie* and irony, are the chords that are touched, and all for five liberal acts, with a great deal of very clever landscape painting in the background, and with Mr. Boucicault, Mr. Montagu, Mr. Becket, and Miss Dyas in the foreground. For Mr. Boucicault, both as author and actor, it is a great triumph—especially as actor. His skill and shrewdness in knocking together effective situations and spinning lively dialogue are certainly commendable; but his acting is simply exquisite. One is hard cleverness, polished and flexible with use; the other is very like genius. The character of the Shaughraun is very happily fancied, but the best of the entertainment is to see the fancy that produced it still nightly playing with it. One hears it said sometimes that an actor acts with "authority"; certainly there is rarely a higher degree of authority than this. Mr. Boucicault smiles too much, we think; he rather overdoes the softness, the amiability, the innocence of his hero; but these exaggerations perhaps only deepen the charm of his rendering; for it was

his happy thought to devise a figure which should absolutely, consummately, and irresistibly please. It has pleased mightily.

"The Two Orphans" at the Union Square Theatre, a piece which has been running a race with the "Shaughraun" in popularity, is an American rendering of an elaborate French *drame* of the old "boulevard" school. The original play ran all last winter in Paris, and fairly rejuvenated the rather defunct type to which it belonged. It is prodigiously clever, and we doubt whether for the time and the money one spends it would be possible to give one fuller measure, pressed down and running over, of surprises, sensations, and bewilderments. What is offered at the Union Square is the mere gaunt, angular skeleton of the original. The whole thing, both as to adaptation and rendering, is very brutally done. It hangs together as it can. There is no really delicate acting in the piece, with the exception, in a sense, of Miss Kate Claxton's representation of the blind maiden. She goes through the part with the pretty dismalness required, and with the enunciation of a young lady reciting a "piece" at a boarding-school. But "The Two Orphans" is worth seeing simply for the sake of sitting in one's place and feeling the quality of a couple of good old-fashioned *coups de théâtre* as your French playwright who really knows his business manages them. The first is when one of the Orphans, hearing in her garret the voice of the other, who is wandering in the street, sightless and helpless, and singing a song addressed, through the mercy of chance, to her sister's ear, and being about to fly to her rescue, is arrested on her threshold by a *lettre de cachet*. The other is the cry of that sadly unwholesome cripple, Pierre (badly played, we should say, if the part were not in its nature an impossible one), when, after being trampled upon through the whole play, he turns upon his hulking, blackguard brother: "As you say yourself, we come of a race that kills!" These are very telling strokes, but if you wait for them at the Union Square you pay for them well. You are kept in patience, it is true, by some very pretty scenery.

The Fifth Avenue Theatre, we believe, makes a specialty of "American comedy," eschews for the time at least Parisian orphans and heroic bog-trotters, and gives us our fellow-citizens in their habits as they live. Some one ought to be held morally accountable for such an unqualifiable mess of vulgarity as "Women of the Day." It is a pity to talk about this thing, even explicitly to pass it by; but we believe it is one of a series, and under these circumstances one strikes out instinctively in self-defence. It was ghastly, monstrous, a positive nightmare. It ran for several weeks, and one wonders whether the public was an active or a merely passive accomplice. Did it like it, or did it simply endure it? The public at large is very ignorant and very good-natured, and anything is possible.

One is bound to regret, in the presence of such a phenomenon as "Women of the Day," that the wholesome old fashion of hissing has in the English theatre fallen into disuse. It was of course liable to abuse; but what is one to say, on the other hand, of the spectator's patience? It would seem at least that, short of the privilege of absolute hissing (which ceases to be brutal only when it is directed at the play, and not at the performers), the disappointed, the deceived spectator ought to hold in his hand some instrument of respectful but uncompromising disapproval. We made this reflection as we watched the celebrated Mrs. Rousby, who has been interpreting historic blank-verse for a month at the Lyceum. It is hard to speak rigidly of so handsome a woman, but Mrs. Rousby's histrionic powers are about equivalent to those of some pretty trained animal—a pet lamb, say, or a white rabbit, or a snowy-breasted dove. Her acting is absolutely flat and weak—uninspired, untrained, unfinished. It was singular to see so extremely pretty a person take so little the critical chill off the atmosphere. Mrs. Rousby is distinctly incompetent. She has been followed at the same theatre by another English artist, a real artist this time—Mr. Toole. Mr. Toole has solved the problem of making low comedy charming. It must be admitted that in one of his parts—the "Artful Dodger"—the lowness is more apparent than the charm.

A more important dramatic enterprise than any we have mentioned has been the revival at Booth's Theatre, as a great spectacle, of "Henry V." We can spare but a word to it. The play could be presented only as a kind of animated panorama, for it offers but the slenderest opportunities for acting. These all fall to the lot of Mr. George Rignold, a young English actor, who, as the victor of Agincourt, has made a very charming impression. He plays the part in the most natural fashion, looks it and wears it to perfection, and declaims its swelling harangues with admirable vigor and taste. He is worth looking at and listening to. The scenic splendors of the play have received many compliments, though, as such things go, they seem to us to have a number of weak spots. But even if they had fewer, they would still, to our sense, be founded on a fallacy. Illusion, as such an enterprise proposes to produce it, is absolutely beyond the compass of the stage. The compromise with verisimilitude is not materially slighter than in the simple days before "revivals" had come into fashion. To assent to this you have only to look at the grotesqueness of the hobby-horses on the field of Agincourt and at the uncovered rear of King Harry's troops, when they have occasion to retire under range of your opera-glass. We approve by all means of scenic splendors, but we would draw the line at invading armies. Mr. Rignold, as we say, however, really produces a very grateful illusion.

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